

**PRACTITIONER PERSPECTIVES ON
BILINGUAL PUPILS' USE AND LEARNING
OF THEIR HOME LANGUAGE IN ENGLISH
PRIMARY SCHOOLS**

by

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Abstract

While research provides evidence for the educational and social value of bilingual children using and learning their home language, it also suggests approaches which support such additive bilingualism are not a common feature of English primary schools. This study sheds light on practitioner perspectives with regard to their bilingual pupils' learning and use of their home language, the repertoires they employ when discussing their bilingual pupils', and the extent to which practitioner talk promotes or undermines additive bilingualism. The study is based on a multi-method collection and analysis of data, consisting of a review of practitioner talk in existing literature, practitioner survey and discussion groups, and pupil survey and discussion groups to explore pupils' perceptions of teacher perspectives. The study identifies key repertoires which represent positions both for and against additive bilingualism, and also describes how particular repertoires can support or undermine additive bilingualism depending on the starting point of the conversation. Quantitative analysis indicated differences in perspectives in relation to practitioners' stage of career and the key stage they worked in. Structuration theory was drawn on to explain resistance to suggestions to change in practice, and make links between practitioner discourses and those in society more broadly.

Dedication

In loving memory of my father, George Robert Isham

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Introduction

With nearly one in ten of its population speaking a language other than English as their main language (ONS, 2013: 12), England is an increasingly multilingual society. In primary schools, this linguistic diversity is even more marked, with, on average, 17 % of primary pupils having English as an additional language¹.

On the one hand, this situation creates a challenge for primary schools in adapting strategies for children who arrive at school with a home language other than English (Hurst, 2015)². On the other hand, there is a dividend to be reaped if children are given the opportunity to maintain and develop their home language. This includes not only a significant number of school leavers being fluent and literate in languages employers say are currently lacking among their workforce (CBI, 2012), but also a range of academic, linguistic, social and cognitive advantages, which accumulated research suggests is the corollary of bilingual education (eg Cummins, 2000, Wilson et al., 2005).

For such benefits to pertain, approaches to teaching and learning need to be consistently adopted in our schools which secure ‘additive bilingualism’ for bilingual pupils. The term ‘additive bilingualism’ stems from research in Canada (Romaine, 1995: 117), and describes a state whereby the acquisition of a second language does not impair the continuing acquisition of skills in the first. Its corollary, ‘subtractive bilingualism’, denotes the learning of a second language to the neglect and detriment of the first. Subtractive bilingualism has been

¹ www.naldic.org.uk/research-and-information/eal-statistics/eal-pupils/

² www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/education/article4399834.ece

demonstrated to have a negative impact on the educational progress of bilingual children through a series of studies which support Cummins' threshold hypothesis. This states that:

... there may be threshold levels of proficiency in both languages which students must attain in order to maximize the cognitive, academic, and linguistic stimulation they extract from social and academic interactions with their environment (Cummins, 2000: 37).

In this thesis, I explore how primary school practitioners position themselves in relation to additive and subtractive bilingualism. For ease of reading, I use the term 'prolingual' to discuss discourse and practices related to additive bilingualism, and 'counterbilingual', those associated with subtractive bilingualism.

Despite the benefits of additive bilingualism, evidence suggests there is a neglect of, and consequently a decline in, home language skills among bilingual children as they progress through their school career, whether this be the failure of schools to ensure necessary language skills among the workforce, as claimed in the CBI report above, or the relatively small number of young people achieving formal qualifications in community/asset languages (Taylor, 2013). As head of languages in an FE college in the West Midlands, I myself experienced a lack of interest among teenagers of south Asian heritage in developing their home language skills. My introduction of a GCSE curriculum in Urdu and Panjabi for 16-18 year old students was taken up by only a handful of students from a potentially large cohort of relatively fluent speakers. This was the spur to focus on attitudes to bilingualism for the current research.

At the heart of the discussion of languages learning and use among bilingual children and young people of linguistic backgrounds other than English is the value placed by our society on those languages. The labels used to define primary-aged children who speak more than one language are telling, and perhaps reflect these values. In English primary schools and the policy organisations which support and direct them, the term for these children is EAL – English as an Additional Language. With the emphasis on additionality, the term EAL acknowledges children's other language skills in a way its US equivalent, English Language Learner (ELL) does not. However, in both cases the focus is still on English as the language to be developed, and so only gradations on a deficit scale, which has at its extreme the other US term, children of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) (Chin et al., 2012).

The more affirmative term for these children, which recognises their whole linguistic repertoire, is 'bilingual'. This term is used in countries where multiple language skills and use among children and young people is seen as an asset and/or is the norm, such as Wales and Canada. It is also the term used by academics and specialists who see value in children continuing to develop their home language where this is not the dominant language in the societies in which they find themselves. Hall's (2001) definition of bilingualism states that children are bilingual who:

... live in two languages, who have access to, or need to use, two or more languages at home and at school. It does not mean that they have fluency in both languages or that they are competent and literate in both languages. (Hall, 2001: cited in Conteh, 2011)

This is the definition of bilingual used in this thesis.

The term bilingualism takes on political significance if the legitimacy of the use of different languages in particular circumstances is challenged (Patten and Kymlicka, 2003). Such is the case in the USA, where English-only is an explicit political movement, but also in England, where disdain for the use of non-English languages in public places can be frequently encountered (Sparrow, 2014) , and policy emphasis is on the learning and use of English by all communities, no matter what their linguistic heritage (Sky News, 2013), and no matter in what circumstances – even in the home (Hughes, 2014).

The emphasis on English-only in wider society is reflected in education policy in England with regard to bilingual pupils, where the focus has primarily been on acquisition of English, with only occasional reference to home languages. Where bilingual children's use of home language is mentioned in policy advice, it is in terms of *valuing* and *exploring* their other languages rather than the *maintenance* or *learning* of the home language (DfES, 2006). Recent guidance for the Early Years Foundation Stage has indeed gone further and describes knowledge of other languages as an asset, and underlines the importance of home language development in supporting the learning of English (Standards and Testing Agency, 2013: 15). Such advice, however, is not replicated in a recent iteration of the Primary Curriculum, which makes only one reference to EAL, and here the message is distinctly English-only:

The ability of pupils for whom English is an additional language to take part in the national curriculum may be in advance of their communication skills in English. Teachers should plan teaching opportunities to help

pupils develop their English and should aim to provide the support pupils need to take part in all subjects (DfE, 2013c: 9).

Given the wider social and policy messages which promote an English-only view of language development, it is unsurprising that UK-based research which reports school practitioners' perspectives and practice in relation to bilingualism similarly reveals the focus is on the learning of English and much less on the use and learning of home languages (Strand et al., 2010, Smyth, 2000, Ghuman, 2003, Cable et al., 2004), and that practice is transitional in nature (Kenner et al., 2008, Cable et al., 2004) . Indeed, teachers occasionally express the undesirability of home language maintenance and use (Smyth, 2000, Kenner et al., 2008).

On the other hand, several researchers report teacher perspectives and practice which support additive bilingualism (Bhatti, 1999, Conteh, 2011). Of particular interest is research which shows how mainstream teachers' engagement with bilingual learning, particularly when accompanied by analysis of the impact of such learning on their own pupils' engagement in the classroom, can bring about a considerable shift in teachers' beliefs and practice (Kenner and Ruby, 2012a).

Research which reports on teacher perspectives and practice, and pupils' experiences in relation to bilingualism in settings in England can be divided into three broad categories:

- A. research which describes practice and experiences in mainstream schools in relation to bilingual pupils as it occurs naturally
- B. research which describes practice and experiences in complementary settings

C. action research, which introduces innovative bilingual practice into mainstream schools.

Research in category A. includes studies carried out by the Department for Education and official agencies, such as Ofsted, as well as those academic studies mentioned above. While this research often does not have bilingual education per se as its main focus, it frequently investigates learning in relation to bilingual children, and with reference to teacher perspectives and practice in relation to bilingualism. Also in this category is research which does focus on bilingual children's learning and development (Chen and Gregory, 2004, Conteh, 2011), which has implications more generally for school practice and policy.

Teacher practice and pupil experiences in complementary settings have been researched by, among others, Blackledge, Creese, Martin, Bhatt, and Hall.

Emerging from these studies are insights into bilingual children's language use in learning situations (Creese and Blackledge, 2011a), and an understanding of the contributions complementary schools make to the development of literacy skills, 'cultures of learning', and community cohesion (Martin et al., 2004, Wei and Wu, 2010). Researchers in this area also explore the lessons mainstream schools could learn from complementary providers (Conteh, 2010), and the policy and funding landscape in which collaboration between the two sectors could occur (Barradas, 2010).

Research in category C illuminates ways in which probilingual practices can be embedded more widely in English schools. Kenner and Ruby, for example, arranged for mainstream teachers to trial multilingual teaching strategies with the support of complementary teachers, and use pupil data to reflect on their value

(Kenner et al., 2010). These studies also demonstrate how, given the appropriate support, teachers can develop their understanding of the needs of their bilingual pupils and adapt practice accordingly.

This current study sits in category A, exploring as it does teacher perspectives on bilingual children's engagement with their home language. However, whereas much of the research in this category is linked in some way with policy change or implementation (Barnard and Burgess, 2000, Ofsted, 2005), or explores in depth classroom/school interactions and behaviours (Conteh, 2011, Connors, 2003, Strand et al., 2010), few explore as their main focus practitioner perspectives on bilingualism. Those which do, include Cable et al.'s (2004) analysis of bilingual teaching assistants' reflections on bilingual support and bilingualism.

This study seeks to build on and extend this research, and provide further insight into teacher perspectives on bilingualism in English primary schools – specifically attitudes towards bilingual children's learning and use of their home languages. If the research promoting additive bilingual practice in schools is to have a wider impact beyond those schools which engage directly with bilingual projects, it will require receptiveness among practitioners and leaders in schools more generally. This means bringing the stories about and evidence for additive bilingualism into the mainstream in ways which challenge prevalent discourses which devalue languages other than English in our society. Jill Bourne saw this as a prerequisite to bringing about change in practice with regard to bilingual pupils:

To design effective forms of bilingual support, there is a need to intervene in the reconstruction of the discourse of 'good practice' in mainstream classroom teaching (Bourne, 2001: 250).

This study summarises the evidence about what such ‘good practice’ is in relation to bilingual pupils, and the extent and nature of primary teacher receptiveness to such practice. Where Creese and Blackledge see complementary schools as providing an ‘alternative space for institutional bilingualism’ in response to ‘the larger macro ideological order, which is increasingly hostile to multilingualism and multiculturalism through its enforcement of monolingualism in society’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2011a: 4-5), this thesis explores primary practitioners’ reactions to messages on bilingualism to better understand the relationship between the ‘larger macro ideological order’ and the mainstream primary school environment. What are practitioners’ perspectives on their bilingual pupils’ learning and use of their home language? To what extent do they express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism? To what extent do practitioner perspectives more generally reflect hostility to multilingualism? I also explore how practitioners respond to probilingual messages based on evidence. The disadvantages bilingual pupils suffer as a result of practitioners taking a monolingual stance in the classroom add a moral dimension to any research undertaken in this area, namely to support teacher understanding of practice appropriate for bilingual learners. In its way, the research process also represents, in Bourne’s words, an intervention ‘in the reconstruction of the discourse of ‘good practice’ in mainstream classroom teaching’ (Bourne, 2001). The research design went through several iterations, but in each case included an element which meant participants became more familiar with the evidence on bilingualism.

The question which the research aims to address is:

- 1) What are primary school practitioners' perspectives with regard to their bilingual pupils' use and learning of their home language?

Three supplementary questions guide a more detailed exploration of the research aims:

- 2) To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism?
- 3) To what extent do pupils' experiences of teaching staff practice align with practitioner accounts?
- 4) How receptive are practitioners to messages of additive bilingual practice based on evidence?

In order to establish what constitutes additive and subtractive bilingualism in the classroom, I conducted a literature review which includes evidence about practice likely to promote positive outcomes for bilingual children and young people.

From this, I derived four principles for a probilingual curriculum, as one which:

- supports home language literacy development
- provides opportunities to use / engage with the home language
- encourages family engagement in children's learning
- sustains support for bilingualism over time.

The theoretical framework for the study is based on Giddens's structuration theory (1984) and the concept of practitioner 'repertoires' of discourse (Edley, 2001) and practice (Swidler, 1986). Structuration theory supports the analysis of

situated discourse to understand the dynamics of interaction within individual schools, while at the same time enabling an understanding of structural constraints and enablers of teaching practice in relation to bilingual pupils.

The concept of ‘interpretative repertoires’ from discourse analysis (DA) theory, provides a framework for organising discourse data into descriptions of different types of practice in relation to bilingual pupils, and analysing how participants use different repertoires to position themselves in conversation. While various definitions of ‘interpretative repertoire’ include a range of linguistic features, it is particularly lexis: ‘clusters of terms’ (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) ‘arguments, descriptions, evaluations’ (Edley and Wetherell, 2001), which is the focus of the analysis here, rather than ‘metaphors, distinct grammatical constructions and styles’ (Wetherell and Potter, 1992).

Cultural sociology conceives of repertoire in broader terms, to include objects and actions beyond discourse (Vaisey, 2010). Aspects of this theory were also drawn on in the analysis, not least for its explanatory power in terms of individuals’ agency in adapting and expanding repertoires.

An initial research design was created based on a practitioner enquiry, on the basis this would yield discourse data over time, on which answers to questions 1, 2 and 4 could be based. In addition, participating practitioners would collect and analyse pupil data as part of the process, providing insights relevant to question 3.

Participating practitioners would be guided through this process using specially designed enquiry frameworks (appendix D).

In the event, it proved difficult to engage practitioners in the research on this basis, and so I revised the approach in a second iteration. The first stage of this

was to collect mainstream primary practitioner discourse data relating to the research questions from across existing literature in England³. These data were subjected to a thematic analysis to create a codebook (Guest, 2012), and so provide a basis for answering research question 1. The next stage of the data collection was a practitioner survey and group discussions to generate data to answer question 2. The prompts in both these aspects of the design were a series of belief and action statements which reflected the themes emerging from the literature review. A parallel pupil survey and series of discussion groups provided data to answer question 3. In order to answer question 4, practitioners were introduced to the enquiry frameworks, and their responses to the evidence embedded in these analysed.

The initial codebook was revised and updated to accommodate data emerging from free text boxes in the practitioner survey and from practitioner discussion groups.

In line with the research aim to understand the extent to which different perspectives are held in English mainstream primary schools, the survey was distributed to as wide a sample as possible within the data collection period. This included 108 school practitioners from a total of nine schools, as well as 14 EAL co-ordinators from various schools in a London borough, and 67 teachers in training. In order to explore practitioner use of repertoires in context, practitioner group discussions were conducted in five schools in London, the West Midlands, and West Yorkshire.

³ The sample of studies also included one from Scotland (Smyth, 2000) on the basis of the richness of teacher discourse data relevant to the focus of this research it included.

Pupil survey and discussion group data from four schools whose practitioners had also participated in the research were the basis of an analysis of practitioner perspectives and pupil reports of their experience at individual school level.

The thematic analysis of practitioner talk in existing literature identified a total of seven main repertoires. These were analysed against the evidence for practice likely to lead to positive outcomes for bilingual learners, and were tagged as probilingual or counterbilingual as follows:

Probilingual

- Home language use / learning as beneficial
- Accepting responsibility

Counterbilingual

- Primacy of English
- Locating responsibility away
- EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive
- School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous
- Home language use as subversive

The two further iterations of the thematic analysis identified three additional repertoires, which were not so easily designated pro- or counterbilingual. These were:

- Utility of home language / use

- Well-being
- Surface level use / learning of home language

Analysis of the ‘well-being’ and ‘surface level use’ repertoires in talk revealed their dynamic nature in either facilitating or hindering suggestions for probilingual practice, rather than being intrinsically probilingual or counterbilingual themselves. ‘Utility of home language / use’ was identified as the transitional repertoire, promoting as it does use of home languages in the classroom for as long as bilingual children need while they develop English language competence.

The quantitative analysis of survey data indicated that:

- practitioners on the whole supported probilingual practice (encouraging reading in the home language and home language use in the classroom), but reported they were less inclined to actively design activities which focused on the different languages of the classroom.
- pupils believed teachers were less probilingual in their actions than teachers reported was the case. However, pupils were more likely to say that teachers in KS1 would design activities which focused on the different languages of the classroom, and help bilingual children learn their home language.
- practitioners in early years / KS1 were more likely to favour probilingual and reject counterbilingual practice than their KS2 counterparts, and were more likely to be more certain about their practice in relation to bilingual pupils.

- more experienced practitioners were more likely to favour probilingual practice, than early career colleagues. They were also more certain of their practice.

In practitioner group discussions, suggestions for engagement with bilingual pupils' home languages were at times championed by certain participants.

However, there was no consensus on practice which related to the four principles of additive bilingualism in any substantial way, and indeed, where practitioners promoted literacy in the home language, their suggestions were countered by colleagues to bring talk back to 'surface level use' and transitional bilingualism.

The outcomes of the research are considered in the light of Giddens's structuration theory, and in particular the concept of 'ontological security', which is a motivator for the maintenance of routine and reproduction of existing structure and resistance to change.

The thesis consists of seven chapters. In chapter **one**, having defined terms, I review the research which provides a rationale for focusing on bilingual learning as an important issue for primary schools, and derive a set of four principles for probilingual teaching practice based on the research. I then describe practice already taking place within English mainstream primary schools which supports children to use the full range of their language skills to aid learning, and outline the potential and resources which schools have at their disposal which means such practice could be taken up more widely.

Chapter **two** describes the current situation in England with regard to bilingualism in our schools and the broader ideologies within which they operate. It clarifies the linguistic landscape, and identifies dominant discourses around the use of

languages other than English in society generally. I then focus on policy and guidance from government and other agencies with regard to the use of and learning of languages in English primary schools. I discuss the way some languages are preferred in the primary foreign language curriculum over others, and how this means many home languages are overlooked as a source of and object for learning. Following this is a description of bilingual pupil experiences in mainstream English schools as it emerges from the literature. The counterbilingual discourses and practices identified in chapter two help to establish the nature of the gap between what ‘should’ be in place to support bilingual learners, as set out in chapter one, and the current situation in schools. This then sets the scene for the main enquiry which seeks to extend understanding of the degree to which practitioner discourse reflects such probilingual and counterbilingual positions.

The theoretical underpinnings of the study are set out in chapter **three**. Structuration theory proposes practitioners work within relatively stable structures, but have agency to make choices and bring about change. The concept of repertoire reflects this idea of stable structure and individual choice. DA provides a framework for identifying a range of repertoires which practitioners draw on to characterise and evaluate practice, and to achieve goals in conversation.

In chapter **four** I review research approaches taken in other studies which have described teacher practice and perspectives in relation to bilingualism, both in England and beyond. These informed both the initial research design, and a second, adapted design.

This then leads into a description of the research design in chapter **five**. Here I set out difficulties encountered in implementing the initial research approach, based on practitioner enquiry, and adaptations that were made to the design on the basis of this experience. Chapter five also provides an overview of the sample, a discussion of ethical considerations, and the limitations of the study.

The results of the analysis are presented in chapter **six**. The analysis identifies repertoires in practitioner talk which relate to bilingual children's use and learning of their home language, and the extent to which these repertoires can be considered pro- or counterbilingual. I then present the outcomes of the quantitative analysis of the survey data, followed by a school-by-school analysis of the four schools which participated in each element of the research. This provides insights into the way the repertoires are drawn on by practitioners in conversation, as well as providing a pupil perspective on teacher practice. Chapter five closes with an analysis of practitioner responses to evidence relating to bilingual pupils' use and learning of their home language, and suggestions for adapting practice accordingly.

In chapter **seven** I discuss the results of the data analysis in relation to the four research questions and the theoretical framework set out in the literature review, consider the implications of the findings for practice, policy and research, and conclude by discussing the contribution to knowledge the study represents and consideration for further research.

Chapter 1 The importance of promoting bilingualism, and probilingual teacher practice in England

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter I set out the evidence concerning bilingual children's continued learning of their home languages and their use in the classroom, as a way of establishing the importance of studying practitioner perspectives on this issue. Based on this review of outcomes for children who grow up with and learn more than one language I derive principles for a bilingual curriculum which makes the most of their linguistic and cultural repertoire. I then draw on studies from England which illustrate how these principles have been put into practice, and so establish an overview of appropriate and possible teaching practice in relation to bilingual pupils which acts as a benchmark against which to analyse teacher and pupil data emerging from the main study. This is followed by a consideration of the resources that primary schools have at their disposal to implement probilingual practices and curricula. Chapter one therefore is a consideration of the 'should' and the 'possible' in relation to teaching bilingual children.

1.1 Definitions of terms related to bilingualism

Before setting out the arguments for the importance of probilingual practice, I first in this section clarify the key terminology used in this thesis.

There are several terms in use to denote the languages spoken by children and young people for whom the dominant language spoken by the majority of the population (in this case English) is not their first language, or the primary language of their family or community. These include 'home language', 'heritage language', 'community language', and 'minority language'. 'Home language' and

‘heritage language’ are fairly synonymous, the latter being more prevalent in the North American context. In this thesis, I use the term ‘home language’ to denote either a bilingual’s L1, or in the case that English is their L1, the other language(s) with which they are familiar from their home / family context.

‘Community language’ and ‘minority language’ both denote the language of a social, in the English context - immigrant, group. The term ‘minority language’ is itself telling, implying as it does a language of lesser importance, and so the preferred term in this thesis is ‘community language’. The corollary to minority language is ‘majority’ language. This term is used to describe the language spoken by the majority population according to the locality of the studies which are cited. In the case of this study, set as it is in England, ‘majority language’ refers to English.

I use the term ‘foreign language’ to mean any language other than the majority language of the setting in which research is carried out. For this study and those cited which were carried out in Anglophone countries, a foreign language is any language other than English. The term ‘foreign language’ subsumes ‘community language’.

In terms of the curriculum, distinctions have been made between modern foreign languages (MFL) and community or ‘asset’ languages, where the latter terms refer to the teaching of foreign languages to children and young people who are already familiar with them in the home / community context. MFL here means all foreign languages taught as part of the curriculum, whether otherwise labelled community or asset language or not. Reference is made to ‘mainstream’ foreign languages in

the curriculum, these consist of the most frequently taught foreign languages in English schools: French, German, and Spanish.

Defining the term ‘bilingual’ can be problematic, as the term can cover a wide range of language knowledge and skills possessed by an individual. Historically, Romaine highlights the definitions of ‘bilingual’ ranging from Bloomfield’s ‘native-like control of two languages’ to Diebold’s ‘incipient bilingualism’, ie an individual may be able to understand to some degree a second language, but not necessarily to produce a coherent sentence in it (Romaine, 1995: 11). Romaine rejects Diebold’s (1963) definition on the basis that most people would have to be classified as incipient bilinguals, and backs Hakuta’s preference for Haugen’s (1953) definition, where: ‘the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language’ (Haugen, 1953: cited in Hakuta, 1986: 4). Hakuta for his part likes the developmental perspective provided by this ‘broad definition’ of bilingualism, as opposed to a narrow definition which requires native-like control of both languages. He believes it is important that the study of bilingualism should include both the study of language development and the circumstances in which language skills are acquired, and how bilingualism is created, maintained or lost (Hakuta, 1986).

A more explicit reference to the context in which bilingualism occurs is provided in a definition originating from experts in the field working in Tower Hamlets, and adopted by Conteh (2011). Pupils are bilingual who:

‘... live in two languages, who have access to, or need to use, two or more languages at home and at school. It does not mean that they have fluency in both languages or that they are competent and literate in both languages.’ (Hall, 2001: cited in Conteh, 2011)

This definition has the benefit of being flexible in terms of the levels of language competence it allows for, and the fact that it emphasises the lived experience of using language and being bilingual, rather than a depiction of bilingualism as a fixed mental state or personal attribute. Furthermore, this definition encompasses ‘access to, or the need to use, two or *more* languages’, and so subsumes the term ‘multilingual’.

The more frequently used term for bilingual pupils at both a policy level and in English schools is pupils with English as an additional language (EAL pupils). One of the ways it was possible to elicit greater responsiveness from schools to participate in this research was by substituting the term ‘bilingual’ for ‘EAL’ in correspondence and publicity material. ‘EAL’ appears in this thesis when it was used in the context of communication with schools, and local authorities, and in quotes from group discussions and survey responses. Otherwise, the term ‘bilingual pupils’ encompasses ‘EAL pupils’. In the USA, bilingual pupils are referred to as having ‘limited English proficiency’ (LEP) as ‘minority-language students’ and ‘English language learners’ (ELL). Again, these terms will be translated as ‘bilingual pupils’ in my commentary. As an area of pedagogical activity, EAL translates into US English as English as a Second Language (ESL).

The term ‘bilingual education’ covers a broad range of provision. As much of the research on bilingual education, its processes and impact, emanate from the United States, for the purposes of this report I will adopt categories used by Thomas and Collier (2002) in their large-scale survey of provision in the US, and supplement these with provision types described by Romaine (1995: 244-246).

In **transitional bilingual education** (TBE), bilingual children receive lessons in their home language and in English, and the amount of teaching in English increases until all teaching is in English. The programmes are also known as ‘compensatory’ or ‘assimilative’ (Romaine, 1995: 244), as the aim is assimilation to English, as opposed to maintenance of the home language.

One-way developmental bilingual education (DBE) begins with bilingual children receiving lessons in their home language. The amount of teaching in English increases year by year, but there is always some teaching in the home language. These programmes are also known as **maintenance** bilingual education.

Two-way bilingual immersion (TWI) programmes engage both majority language, as well as bilingual, pupils.

In **English as a Second Language** (ESL) support, children are immersed in English mainstream classes, and receive additional language learning support to help them to both cope with lesson content and learn English. This provision is known as **English as an Additional Language** (EAL) in the English context.

It is important at this stage to draw the distinction between bilingual education as it is practised in North America, and other contexts, such as New Zealand and Wales, and bilingual education in England. Apart from a small number of schools with a bilingual curriculum (see section 2.5), bilingual practice in English primary schools, where it occurs, focuses more on the value of the home language for learning, and on framing practice and conversations so that bilingual children feel comfortable using and are supported in acquiring home language knowledge and skills:

A bilingual approach is not about explicitly teaching pupils to speak and write other languages besides English. Rather, it is about opening out to them routes to learning English (and learning generally) which are not open to them if the whole discourse of the classroom is in English. In this way, pupils gain power over their own learning. (Conteh and Begum, 2006, p63)

Finally, the term ‘mainstream English’ refers to programmes where no or little provision or concession is made for bilingual pupils. This is also sometimes referred to in the literature as ‘traditional’ programmes.

1.2 The importance of bilingualism and bilingual education

In this section, I provide an overview of the research which has investigated links between bilingualism, bilingual education and outcomes for individuals. Based on the key messages emerging from the literature, I have organised this part of the review in four sections, to focus on:

- cognitive outcomes
- language skills and academic outcomes
- metalinguistic ability and ability to learn new languages
- social / emotional outcomes.

1.2.1 Cognitive outcomes

Barac and Bialystok’s review of research in this area shows that, over the years, there has been a considerable shift from a position where the majority of findings pointed to being bilingual as presenting a cognitive disadvantage, to one where

the weight of evidence appears to support the opposite position (2011). Early studies, such as Saer's investigation into the effect of bilingualism on intelligence among Welsh-English bilingual children (1923), consistently upheld a view that growing up with two languages was detrimental to children's progress at school. Barac and Bialystok contend the studies are flawed on two counts. Firstly, that using IQ scores as an indicator of intelligence is too blunt a tool, on the grounds that they are 'influenced by factors such as socioeconomic status', and that they are too broad a measure, 'that tells us little about specific aspects of intellectual functioning' (Barac & Bialystok, 2011: 36). Secondly, bilingual children were often from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than the monolingual comparison groups, and the results were not controlled for this. When they were in subsequent studies, differences in IQ disappeared.

More recent studies, which take account of such methodological considerations, tend to have either found a bilingual advantage or no difference between bilingual and monolingual performance. A study in Papua New Guinea among 301 primary pupils found that bilinguals (Tok-Pisin / English) performed better than monolinguals (English-only) in mathematical tests (Clarkson, 1992). Li *et al* (1999) similarly found a bilingual advantage in carrying out maths tests, although the aim of this study of 473 Chinese and Chinese American undergraduates was to explore specifically the link between mastery of Chinese orthography and mathematical performance. Li *et al* speculated a link between learning to write Chinese and developing spatial awareness, which, if true, would mean the implications of this study are limited to bilinguals of languages whose script consists of logograms.

Other research, however, whose participants speak languages with alphabetic orthographies, has also found a link between bilingualism and spatial ability. A study of 47 four-six year old children found that the bilingual children were better able to use information other than the height of a building to determine how many families might live in it (Bialystok and Codd, 1997). A small scale British study tested the ability of monolingual (English) and bilingual (Welsh/English) postgraduate students to match pairs of diagrams of knotted and unknotted ropes. When the researcher compared the speed of the two groups to complete the tasks, she found on the whole the bilingual students were quicker (McLeay, 2003).

Bialystok explored extensively the link between bilingualism and cognitive development as part of her review *Bilingualism in development: Language, literacy and cognition* (2001). From her perspective, the research in this area did not demonstrate an overall bilingual advantage or disadvantage in academic tasks. There was evidence, however, that bilinguals performed better in tasks which required 'selective attention' - that is an ability not to be distracted by misleading information. Bialystok believed this evidence supported an 'inhibitory control model'. According to this model, the brain has to develop a strategy for dealing with the fact that two languages are active in the brain simultaneously, and which helps it suppress one language when the other is in use. Bialystok reasons this skill of linguistic control could transfer to other areas of problem-solving.

Bialystok's conclusion, drawing itself on a wide range of studies, can also explain the results of Li *et al* and McLeay studies discussed above. The participants in the Li *et al* study, for example, carried out the 'water-level task' (WLT), in which they were required to indicate the surface line of water in half-full bottles when they were tilted. To carry this out correctly, participants, among other things,

needed to suppress the image of all lines of the object at a changed angle so as to apply understanding of the unchanged direction of the water surface – ‘low scorers on the WLT were less likely to see the horizontal orientation of liquid edges embedded in tilted containers than were high scorers’ (Li et al., 1999: 92).

What the research by McLeay and others did not explore was the maintenance or not of this advantage over time – that is, whether monolinguals could develop selective attention skills similar to those of bilinguals through practice. Research carried out by Goetz (2003) suggests that this may be possible. Bilingual children in this study performed better than monolingual children in ‘theory of mind’ tasks first time around, but when they took similar tests the following week there was little difference because the monolingual children had made substantial improvements. The tasks involved participants suspending their own understanding of the world and seeing it from the perspective of a fictional character who had less information about a particular scenario than they did.

A significant development in the debate about a bilingual cognitive advantage or disadvantage has been a meta-analysis conducted by Adesope and colleagues, which set out to achieve clarity on the extent and diversity of cognitive outcomes for bilinguals (Adesope et al., 2010). The study found a bilingual advantage in the areas of metalinguistic / metacognitive awareness, and attention and symbolic representation. To this extent, the research substantiates Bialystok’s claims for a bilingual cognitive advantage. It should be noted, however, that a large number of the studies included in the meta-analysis were led by Bialystok herself, to the extent that Adesope and colleagues felt it necessary to conduct specific tests to assess whether the findings in her research were consistent with those of other studies included in the analysis.

Interestingly, Adesope et al found that the larger effect size for attention and representation pertained to older (postsecondary) bilinguals (Adesope et al., 2010: 223). This latter finding links with a theme emerging elsewhere in the literature that the benefits of being bilingual occur over the long term (see for example Wilson et al., 2005, Oller and Eilers, 2002). It also provides evidence to support Cummins' 'threshold hypothesis', which states that:

... there may be threshold levels of proficiency in both languages which students must attain in order to maximize the cognitive, academic, and linguistic stimulation they extract from social and academic interactions with their environment (Cummins, 2000: 37).

Cummins' interpretation of studies which link bilingual development with cognitive outcomes turns contested findings on whether being bilingual produces a more powerful brain than being monolingual, into a convincing argument against the neglect of bilingual children's home language, and therefore *for* additive bilingual programs.

If beginning L2 learners do not continue to develop both their languages, any initial positive effects are likely to be counteracted by the negative consequences of subtractive bilingualism (Cummins, 2000: 37).

In other words, focusing on whether children enjoy a cognitive advantage from a bilingual education per se misses the point, when discussing children who arrive at school with a language other than English as their first language. The implication of the research is that bilingual children *need* a bilingual education if they are to take full advantage of the academic opportunities which school provides, and not experience delay in cognitive development.

Cummins based his threshold hypothesis on research which took account of bilinguals' levels of language proficiency when analysing outcomes of cognitive tasks. In particular, he drew on the research of Ricciardelli (1993, 1992), who found that bilinguals who were proficient in both languages performed better than bilinguals who were less proficient in one of their languages. Her studies found a cognitive advantage for proficient bilingual (Italian / English) primary pupils.

In English schools too, researchers provide evidence for the threshold hypothesis. Kenner and colleagues noted that in the course of their action research, bilingual 'children already identified as academically successful were revealed to have a particularly strong background in Bangla as well as being highly competent in English' (Kenner et al., 2008: 134).

1.2.2 Language skills and academic outcomes

In contrast to research which looks at the cognitive benefits of being bilingual, language skills outcomes research provides strong evidence for the benefits of bilingual programs.

The majority of the evidence is based on studies of US bilingual programs, mainly of Spanish / English bilingual children (Escamilla and Medina, 1993, Medina and Escamilla, 1992, Oller and Eilers, 2002, Ramirez, 1992, Umbel and Oller, 1995, Branum-Martin et al., 2010). Significantly these studies provide evidence that bilingual programmes are effective at supporting bilingual children's L2 / dominant language (in these cases, English) development. Escamilla and Medina, for example, compared 'limited language proficiency' and 'most limited language proficiency' primary pupils participating on a maintenance (exit at grade 6) bilingual program. They found that both groups made significant gains in English

acquisition, and that it was the most limited language proficiency group which made the largest gains.

While the studies by Escamilla and Medina found bilingual programmes benefited oral development in the dominant L2, a series of studies carried out in Dade County, Florida (Oller and Eilers, 2002) tested reading, writing and academic development to compare the impact of two-way versus immersion bilingual programs. The studies also explored the impact of socio-economic status and language spoken at home. The findings with regard to dominant L2 (English) confirmed those of Escamilla and Medina in that bilingual children attending maintenance bilingual programmes made significant gains, closing the gap on children attending English immersion classes as they progressed through the grades. Overall children on immersion programmes outperformed those on two-way programmes on oral and vocabulary tests, and the reverse was the case on reading and writing tests. The authors concluded:

... whereas English Immersion children had some advantage in K [kindergarten], this difference had essentially dissipated by the later grades (Cobo-Lewis et al., 2002: 82).

While the findings from this study suggest a trajectory for an L2 English advantage for bilingual children attending two-way programs, it does not go so far as to track students as they progress through secondary school to establish if this trend is maintained in the long term. A larger scale national study carried out in the USA by Wayne Thomas and Virginia Collier (2002) around the same time, however, does. Working on data from schools in five districts, which represented between them eight types of provision accommodating (or not) the home language development of bilingual pupils, the researchers set out to establish an empirical

database concerning effective provision for language minority students. Students were tracked for each year of their attendance in a particular school district. The findings were based on the scrutiny of a total of 210,000 student records. The Thomas and Collier study confirms the trend apparent in Cobo-Lewis et al. (2002), and concludes there is a clear advantage for bilingual children attending maintenance bilingual programmes over those attending immersion programmes or programmes with no designated provision.

In addition to supporting L2 dominant language development, maintenance bilingual programmes were also found to have a positive impact on home language acquisition. This outcome was also substantiated in the Dade County research, which found that Spanish / English bilingual children receiving this type of teaching significantly outperformed their counterparts on immersion programmes on all Spanish language tests in the battery except verbal analogies, and the advantage was particularly marked in tests on reading and writing (Cobo-Lewis et al., 2002).

A more recent study of 1,338 Spanish-speaking first graders in urban and border locations in the United States, found no statistically significant difference between maintenance and immersion programmes in the progress children made on English reading comprehension measures. On the other hand, children on maintenance programmes made a half year additional progress in Spanish reading comprehension compared with peers on immersion programmes (Branum-Martin et al., 2010).

Other evidence provided by Lutz and Crist (2009) explored the link between bilingual children's home reading in L1 and improved school test scores. The

analysis of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) data for around 2,500 students in California and Florida revealed an interesting gender difference. Boys who learned to read and write in their home language as well as English (biliteracy) did much better than boys with low literacy skills in their home language. There was, however, no such difference for girls. In addition, Lutz and Crist found that closer family ties were also an important factor in biliterate boys doing well.

Thomas and Collier further found that majority-language English speakers also benefited linguistically and academically from participation in DBE programs, with no detriment to their academic progress in other areas, such as mathematics (Thomas and Collier, 2002: 5). These findings are complemented by a more recent study that evaluated outcomes for Limited English Proficiency (LEP) and non-LEP (ie majority-language English) pupils in Texas (Chin et al., 2012). The comparison between bilingual and ESL provision showed no advantage for either approach for bilingual ‘Spanish home language’ pupils. The researchers did, however, identify a ‘spillover’ positive impact on majority-language English speakers when their classmates attended bilingual programmes (as opposed to ESL programmes). The Texas study was smaller scale than that of Thomas and Collier, focusing as it did on development over a shorter timescale (primary schooling only) and geographical area (‘less urban school districts’ in one US State). However, the interesting finding is that majority-language English pupils benefitted from their bilingual peers’ attendance on bilingual programmes by proxy – ie they did not attend bilingual programmes themselves.

Where practices which support the use and learning of home language (probilingual practices) have been implemented in English schools, the evidence also suggests academic and linguistic benefits for bilingual children, as well as a sense of achievement for dominant language peers engaging with community languages (Kenner et al., 2008). In their action research carried out in schools in East London, for example, Kenner and her team found that in their sample of eight children, those who were relatively fluent and developing literacy skills in Bengali were the ones performing better in mainstream classes (2012: 14). Elsewhere, Kenner and colleagues (2008) observed how bilingual children developed what for monolinguals would be considered advanced language skills, understanding word order in two languages, and the difference in the use of grammatical structure and prepositions. Often, it was a case of providing the space and opportunity for bilingual children to demonstrate and develop their language skills, rather than any strenuous learning techniques, and the impact was experienced not only by them, but their monolingual peers, aligning with the findings of Thomas and Collier (2002) and Chin et al (2012). Kenner et al (2008) also identified how probilingual practice and the teaching of phonics in mainstream literacy programmes had a mutually reinforcing impact in supporting children's developing skills in reading.

1.2.3 Metalinguistic skills and ability to learn new languages

As already mentioned in section 1.2.1, among the advantages for bilinguals identified by Adesope and colleagues (2010) was increased metalinguistic awareness, that is the ability to analyse and understand the structure of language and how it works. Individual studies, which have identified this phenomenon, include Mohanty (1994), Hermanto (2012), and Kenner et al (2008).

Countering the studies which report on bilingual pupils' metalinguistic skills are a small number whose findings suggest neither an overall bilingual advantage or disadvantage in this area. One of these comes from Elena Bialystok herself, who found bilingual children were at an advantage in terms of concepts of print, at a disadvantage in terms of oral competence, and differed little from monolinguals with regard to metalinguistic awareness (Bialystok, 2007). A second, earlier study by Derek Edwards and Hilde Christophersen found that being bilingual did not play a role in performance on tasks which assessed referential arbitrariness (1988). It should be noted, however, that in this study, the participants were preschool children. As noted elsewhere (see section 1.2.2), the benefits of bilingualism tend to develop over time, and so the findings here may not necessarily contradict research among older children and adults which does find a bilingual advantage in metalinguistic awareness.

More recent confirmation of the bilingual advantage in terms of metalinguistic ability has come from work carried out in the Netherlands to assess the impact of a bilingual (Dutch-English) programme on 12-16 year olds' metalinguistic awareness and ability to understand text in an unknown language: Indonesian (Ter Kuile et al., 2011). Students who had selected to attend the Dutch-English programmes were compared with fellow students in the same schools who were attending Dutch-only courses. Students on the bilingual programme scored significantly higher on the Indonesian Language Test than their monolingual counterparts.

By linking metalinguistic outcomes with language acquisition ability, Ter Kuile et al.'s research bears out what would otherwise be a fair assumption: that as a corollary of increased metalinguistic awareness, bilinguals might be expected to

learn new languages with more ease than monolinguals. Ter Kuile et al.'s findings are indeed backed up by a body of research which compares foreign language acquisition between monolinguals and bilinguals, which strongly suggests that in this area bilinguals do indeed have an advantage (Lerea and Kohut: cited in Barac and Bialystok, 2011, Swain and Lapkin, 1991, Keshavarz and Astaneh, 2004).

1.2.4 Social / emotional outcomes

Of equal importance to the evidence for the academic and language benefits of probilingual practice, is the research which makes the connection between approaches which respect, allow, encourage and support bilingual children's use of their home language for learning, and social and emotional outcomes. Conteh and Brock underline the vital link between language and identity:

Our identities are formed from the activities we do every day and the conversations we have with the people around us. (2006: 3)

While this may seem a straight forward proposition when applied to children's interaction with adults within the same culture, it can become more problematic when the conversations occur between cultures, particularly when a power differential such as that between teacher and pupil is present. Conteh and Brock studied bilingualism from the perspective of how relationships play out in the classroom, focussing on what is permissible and valued linguistically, and the impact this has on pupils' learning and sense of well-being. They concluded that:

it is important for our self-confidence and identity as learners that we feel we belong and are valued in the settings in which we are learning.

Bilingual children need to feel that their first language is valued in school

and that it is not seen as second rate to English. (Conteh and Brock, 2006:

5)

Given this link between language and identity, it is unsurprising that research which has investigated bilinguals' school experience and emotional and social outcomes has frequently found that neglect of children's home languages in school has had a negative impact.

Several studies into social and affective outcomes for bilinguals have explored the consequences for bilingual children of an abrupt transition from home, where a community language is spoken, to majority language school (Bougie et al., 2003, Combs, 2005, Wright, 2004, Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

In an evaluation of the transfer of Inuit pupils from an all-Inuttitut to an immersion majority language (English or French) programme in a remote Arctic community of Canada, Bougie and colleagues sought to answer the question:

Will early heritage-language education serve as an inoculation against the potential negative impact of being submerged in a dominant second-language environment, or will it just delay the negative impact of this submersion? (Bougie et al., 2003: 349)

In this study, the researchers counted the number of times children selected a photograph of themselves in relation to positive attributes as a way of assessing degrees of self-esteem. The results showed that Inuit children who made the transition from all-Inuttitut to English immersion programmes had suffered a significant decline in self-esteem, than Inuit children who had been in majority language English programmes from the start of their schooling and 'dual-heritage' children. Based on their findings, the authors argued for a more staged transition from community language to majority language education.

A small-scale study (N=10) conducted by Wayne Wright in a school district in Southern California looked at the impact of English immersion education on ten Cambodian refugees (2004). The study was carried out in the context of what the author identified as a failure by the district to fully implement policies designed to support bilingual students. Interview data revealed students had had problems with the English language demands of the classroom, and in adult life continued to have difficulties with accents, spelling, grammar, writing and a perceived lack of vocabulary. Four of the ten participants felt that this lack of progress in English had hindered their progress at work. In terms of social impact, three of the interviewees felt they had lost communication with their parents because of their lack of skills in Khmer, and two reported occasions where they had broken away from their families or communities.

This sense of social and familial dislocation through suppression of home languages at school finds echoes elsewhere in the literature. A bilingual complementary school teacher in England, for example, had this to say about the impact of counterbilingual attitudes at school on her family life:

It was only after embarking on my degree that I began to challenge my personal attitude towards my mother tongue and I started to make a conscious effort to break down the language barrier which years of schooling had created between me and my parents. Only when I realised that my mother tongue deserves the same respect as any other language did I begin to have respect for my culture. (Conteh, 2007)

The consequences of suppressing children's home languages at school for the emotional well-being of children was a key focus of a study by Combs in an

Arizonan elementary school (2005). The pupil population was predominantly Mexican-American. Interviews with school staff, parents and pupils sought to establish the impact of the reduction of bilingual provision and the introduction of 'Structured English Immersion'. Of the 18 school staff interviewed, 13 spoke of children crying or being traumatised at the time of transition to the new programme. Although the circumstances are particular to the removal of what staff, parents and pupils saw as a better way of schooling, the interviews revealed something of the emotional impact of immersion into a majority-language learning environment with no recourse to the home language. One teacher commented:

"Silent tears. Simply because they didn't . . . they want to do well in school, and they do not understand what I'm talking about and when they see the work, even with the simple stuff, it's just too overwhelming for them. And they just break down because they don't know what to do. Essentially their mind is numb because they're getting a garble of English. And I have had them break down." (Combs, 2005: 711)

In her study of a young child of Pakistani heritage going through nursery and reception in Watford, Rose Drury portrays the transition from a home environment where only Pihari is spoken to nursery, where communication has to be in English. The description of the child's interactions with other children during the 'silent period' show the 'social isolation' bilingual children at the early stages of English acquisition can experience:

...during her first few months in nursery Samia is socially isolated from other children. She spends long periods of time playing on her own and for

much of the time she is silent. The other children in the nursery do not include her in their play or initiate conversations with her. Throughout the nursery session she interacts in English with other children only six times and, with the single exception of the word 'look!', each one involves asserting possession. (Drury, 2004: 45)

Drury ties the experience of the silent period to the 'double bind' theory of language learning being dependent on social interaction, and social interaction in turn requiring on a certain mastery of language to be successful

Other research highlights the importance of home language maintenance to family cohesion. Children's voices in research carried out in East London, for example, highlighted the importance for children of speaking in their community language in order to facilitate understanding between the generations: "you have to speak to your parents in Bangla, cos if you speak English they won't understand" (Kenner and Ruby, 2012b: 18).

Wong Fillmore's interviews with 1,100 families from across the USA, and representing a wide variety of non-English language backgrounds, including Arabs, Latinos, Asians and American Indians, produced statistical evidence that majority language immersion can present a serious problem for school children and their families (1991). She compared responses from families whose children had attended English-only preschools (main sample) with those from families where the children's preschool had been (Spanish-English) bilingual (comparison sample). In the main sample, children were more likely to use English exclusively or mostly with their siblings, than among children in the comparison sample. Children in the main sample were also more likely to speak English with their

parents, than children in the comparison sample. There was also a backwash effect on parents in the main sample, where 78% used their home language mostly or exclusively at home, against 94% of parents in the comparison sample.

Wong-Fillmore concludes from her study that, in learning English, immigrant children lose their home languages, and this has an impact on the pattern of language use in the home, 'and the younger they are when they learn English, the greater the effect' (Wong-Fillmore, 1991: 341).

In her discussion, Wong-Fillmore considers the implications for relationships and socialisation within the family that the declining use of the home language can have:

Talk is a crucial link between parents and children: It is how parents impart their cultures to their children and enable them to become the kind of men and women they want them to be. When parents lose the means for socialising and influencing their children, rifts develop and families lose the intimacy that comes from shared beliefs and understandings. (Wong-Fillmore, 1991: 343)

On the other hand, when parents are given encouragement and support to converse with their children in their home language, this can lead to improved affective outcomes. The Earlystart project in Bradford introduced multilingual, home-based learning through play and books for babies, where parents were given support by health visitors. The researchers found that as a result parents experienced increased self-esteem, and that their children were more confident in English and their home language (Power and Brock, 2006).

That such early interventions can have an impact in later life is borne out in a study which focussed on the acculturation and adjustment of adolescents (average

age 12) among 91 immigrant Chinese families in Canada (Costigan and Dokis, 2006). The study identified a link between the degree of interaction between parent and child in domains of Chinese acculturation and the child's adjustment. Adjustment was measured in terms of conflict, feelings of depression, and motivation to achieve. The greater parental interaction with their child in terms of Chinese language use and discussion of values, for example, the better adjusted was the child.

Heejung Park and colleagues showed how important it is for parents to lead by example if bilingual children are to maintain and develop their home language (Park et al., 2012). Their study focussed on the impact of parents' home language (Chinese) use and cultural maintenance values on their bilingual children's home language and English proficiency. Correlations were found between parents' self-reported behaviour and beliefs (for example cultural practice, interactions with their children and their use of language in the family situation), and their children's levels of proficiency in English and Chinese. The study found that it was parents' home language use itself which was the important factor in determining whether their children developed their home language, rather than their 'general cultural maintenance values' (Park et al., 2012: 219).

1.2.5 Implications of the research on bilingualism for practice in English schools

In section 1.2 I have described the evidence which provides a rationale for mainstream schools developing policies and promoting practices which contribute to additive bilingualism. The outcomes of the research can sometimes be equivocal when it comes to the question of cognitive advantage, but on the whole,

the weight of evidence strongly suggests schools should be promoting pupils' use and learning of all their language skills.

By relating the studies which report cognitive, language skills, academic and social/emotional outcomes back to the practice which had an impact on these, it is possible to establish several principles on which a probilingual curriculum should be based. I have derived these as follows:

Home language literacy development

A number of studies support the importance of learning to read and write in the home language, both as a benefit in its own right, but also because the skills developed help support English language learning, as well as academic progress overall (Ricciardelli, 1992, Oller and Eilers, 2002, Lutz and Crist, 2009, Thomas and Collier, 2002, Branum-Martin et al., 2010).

Providing opportunities to use / engage with the home language

The amount of space children have in the learning environment to engage with their home language is not only indicated as an important factor in formal bilingual curricula, where Thomas and Collier found that 90-10 and 50-50 programmes were the most effective, but also a key feature of programmes in England which have been shown to support bilingual pupils' progress (Kenner et al., 2008, Kenner and Ruby, 2012b).

Encouragement of family engagement

A positive two-way link has been identified between family cohesion and the encouragement of pupils to engage with their home language. On the

one hand children's continued use of their home language supports closer family and community ties (Mills, 2001, Kenner et al., 2010). On the other, closer family ties and use of home languages have supported bilingual pupils' progress (Lutz and Crist, 2009, Park et al., 2012). Furthermore, disruption of home language use in school can have a negative impact on the home environment (Combs, 2005, Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

Sustained support for bilingualism

Benefits for bilingual pupils were found to emerge over time (Adesope et al., 2010, Wilson et al., 2005). In fact, a bilingual education appeared to have a negative impact if progress was measured in the short term (Cobo-Lewis et al., 2002). Abrupt transitions from an environment where home language use is accepted and the norm to one of English-only was also found to be detrimental (Bougie et al., 2003). This implies the need for primary schools to take a strategic role in ensuring probilingual practice is adopted across the curriculum and year groups, but also in applying what influence they have in encouraging secondary schools to continue to promote home languages once pupils transfer.

Teaching practices which run counter to these principles can be considered to contribute to subtractive bilingualism. Such practices would be those which neglect the need for, or actively deter:

- home language literacy development
- opportunities to use / engage with the home language

- family engagement in children's learning
- sustained support for bilingualism.

I use the term 'counterbilingual' as shorthand for practices which contribute to subtractive bilingualism in this way.

In section 1.3, I use these principles for a probilingual curriculum to make the link between the wider evidence base on the impact of bilingualism and bilingual education and practice described in the literature in England.

1.3 Teaching practices in English settings associated with additive bilingualism

Research which has explored bilingualism in England provides a range of insights into current practice as it impacts on bilingual pupils, both within and beyond mainstream school settings. The practice described in the literature ranges from naturally occurring, every day, habitual practice, to innovative practice and more formal interventions, introduced, for example, through action research projects (Kenner et al., 2010). In this section I discuss examples of practice which can be said to be probilingual. Counterbilingual practices in English settings are discussed in section 2.6.

In her account of literacy learning strategies in an East London school, Sneddon (2012) describes a bilingual teacher's distribution of dual language books in all the languages of the children in the class for them to read with their parents, along with relevant advice to parents. The teacher built on the work at home by discussing the children's experience of reading and the interpretations they made. Children took on the role of experts when they quoted sections of the book in

languages with which the teacher was unfamiliar. This dual language reading intervention covers three of the principles identified above: literacy development in the home language, opportunities for the use of home languages in the classroom, and family engagement. The practice also helps ensure all children are included in classroom literacy activity, even when their English reading skills are at an early stage. Bilingual children also have the opportunity to demonstrate knowledge which others, including the teacher, do not have, with the benefits for self-esteem that that implies.

Encouraging children to access multiple languages in order to develop literacy skills has similarly been reported by Conteh and Begum (2008). Here, a bilingual class teacher engaged children's interest through a range of stimuli, with the aim of eliciting talk. In one case, the lesson began with a video of a song in Bangla, which featured a picture of the mythical baobab tree. The strange looking tree aroused children's interest, which in turn led to discussions with the researcher and parents, along with an exploration of the myth about the tree, and culminated in children retelling the myth in their home language and English.

The Enchanted Forest project (Brock, 1999: cited in Conteh, 2011) took this language-rich curriculum approach to whole school level, embedding bilingual practices across year groups and thereby sustaining support for bilingualism. A head teacher arranged for a classroom to be converted into the forest, and it became a location for children to listen to bilingual stories, engage in problem solving activities, and learn through drama and experiment. The children used their languages freely, and began sharing stories from home, 'communicating how family members constantly told them stories in their home language' (Conteh, 2011: 357).

The Enchanted Forest project represents an approach which covers all four principles identified in section 1.2, including making family connections. The interesting point here is that the children themselves were agents in making these links, having been encouraged by school activities to explore, and share more, different aspects of their lives. Elsewhere, teachers have introduced specific practice to encourage children to explore funds of knowledge from the home and to encourage family engagement in their children's learning and with school. These include:

- children creating a display on the advantages of speaking Bangla, after they have drawn mind maps to show where, why and how they learned Bangla and interviewed parents (Kenner et al., 2010)
- children encouraged to bring family trees and postcards in from home to tell stories of the past (Power and Brock, 2006)
- children encouraged to ask older relatives for a favourite story (Power and Brock, 2006)
- surveys about what languages children speak with whom (Kenner et al., 2010).

Moving on from practices and interventions which aim specifically to build on and develop language skills, research elsewhere focuses on teacher behaviour as it relates to pupils' developing sense of identity.

In her research, Jean Conteh (2011) explored ways teachers construct 'safe spaces' for their pupils. For these teachers, children need the opportunity not only to use their language, but to experience its use in ways which show that it has

value and status. One teacher learned Urdu at evening class in order to be able to speak some of the language to new comers to her class so their transition from home to the classroom was ‘supportive and welcoming’:

I use it in my teaching to settle the children in transitions, particularly if they are upset at the separation from their parents (Conteh, 2011: 353)

While such practice may at first glance look like a form of transitional bilingualism (use of the home language for as long as children need to orient themselves until it becomes manageable for them to engage in all teaching and learning in English), the fact the teacher herself went to the effort to learn some of her pupils’ languages, and experienced what it was to be immersed in a new language, she was modelling interest and empathy. In addition, this particular teacher developed a working relationship with bilingual teaching assistants which meant home languages were used more widely in the classroom.

Indeed, opportunities like these to use home languages in the classroom go beyond investing those languages with legitimacy and enabling children to make a smooth transition. Research in community settings have highlighted the role of translanguaging in the learning process for bilingual children (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). The theory maintains that, far from using each of their languages as a monolingual of each language would (parallel monolingualism), bilinguals draw from both their languages *and* multilingual forms to make meaning (heteroglossia). If this is the case, a child’s ability to use their home language (including having permission, if not encouragement from teaching staff) is a necessary condition for them to fully ‘communicate their meaning and perform their identities’ (Conteh, 2011). Creese and Blackledge demonstrate how

students in complementary settings draw on both languages to understand what is required of them in completing tasks, progress with the task, and also to perform identities to peers (2010).

While complementary schools often have policies (explicit or implied) which promote separate bilingualism, in practice flexible bilingualism (moving between languages to make meaning) in order to learn and enact relationships, is the norm (Creese and Blackledge, 2011b). Based on their research, Creese and Blackledge argue for teachers generally to adopt strategies ‘in which two or more languages are used alongside each other’ (2010: 103). They draw on Leo van Lier’s (2008) concept of an ‘ecological approach’ in which language learning is closely connected to the interrelationship between teacher and learner. Here, the focus is not on the development of language and academic skills per se, but the role of the teacher in supporting the self-actualisation of the learner: to engage ‘the learner in pedagogic actions intended to develop a “wide panoramic view of self”’, and show the learner the possibilities of ‘new identity positions associated with language learning processes’ which can emerge from teacher-learner engagement (Creese and Blackledge, 2010: 104).

Conteh and Begum (2008) describe how code switching also functions as a teaching tool to help bilingual children access the content of learning. The teacher in their study used the approach consciously with her mixed monolingual/bilingual cohort, ensuring its use was brief, and that whatever was said in the community language was repeated in English. The authors suggested this was also a helpful intervention for monolingual children, offering ‘a valuable lesson in language awareness’.

As this overview of practice illustrates, schools and teachers have the potential to and do provide a probilingual curriculum. Indeed, much of the probilingual practice is recognisable as effective primary practice more generally (Hughes et al., 2005). However, this is not to suggest that the introduction of such practice is unproblematic. Conteh (2011), for example, describes situations which illustrate the kinds of support teachers need to adapt practice to improve the learning environment for their bilingual pupils. She highlights how wrong assumptions can be made about the languages children speak, which can confound good intentions to support them. In one case, a supply teacher believed she was being supportive of a pupil of south Asian heritage by providing her with a dual language audio story only for the child not to sit and listen. It took a support assistant to point out that the pupil spoke Punjabi and the cassette was in Gujarati. I discuss the extent to which wider policy and agency mechanisms have supported teachers to adopt probilingual practice in chapter 2. Before that, in section 1.4, I discuss the resources which schools and teachers have at their disposal to create a curriculum more supportive of bilingual pupils.

1.4 Foreign language learning potential and resources available to the English system

From one perspective, English mainstream primary schools are not particularly well placed to offer a bilingual curriculum. Not only does the multiplicity of languages pupils speak present a more complex task than establishing bilingual programmes of the US or other models, for example, but there is also the question of how well the education system in England is geared to provide appropriate training and ongoing professional development for teachers so that they develop

appropriate practice for bilingual pupils (NALDIC, 2009). However, school leaders and teachers have a wide range of resources at their disposal if they are inclined to develop a probilingual curriculum. I briefly describe these below.

The presence of a vibrant and ongoing immigrant population in England provides a rich and wide-ranging resource and potential source of support for substantial language learning not only for the children and young people from the community language groups themselves, but also for the wider population. Most significant among these are:

- complementary schools
- parents and other members of language groups with literacy skills in those languages
- real world learning opportunities.

Complementary schools, also known as supplementary schools, are defined by the National Association of Support Services for Equality and Achievement (NASSEA), as schools which:

are operated on a part-time basis by voluntary organisations representing minority ethnic, linguistic and cultural communities. They provide education on a variety of areas, mainly community languages, religious studies, cultural studies and curriculum learning related to the community's country of origin. Some complementary schools provide education on core curriculum areas of the mainstream curriculum (NASSEA, 2014).

Operating outside the mainstream schools system as they are, the exact number of complementary schools which exist nationally is difficult to determine. However, the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRSE) has identified over 2,800 complementary schools on its national database. Complementary schools are not only a locus for language learning, but as Kenner and Ruby (2012a) have demonstrated, themselves have developed teaching and learning strategies which mainstream teachers could benefit from. These practices include placing the child in the role of teacher, behaviour management, and negotiating translation (Kenner and Ruby, 2012a: 534).

Historically, research in England has shown that parents and significant others are an abundant source of support for bilingual children not only to learn to speak their home language, but they also, on the whole, have the literacy skills to develop children's ability to read and write in foreign languages too (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985). As census data show (ONS, 2013), this pool of expertise is an ongoing resource, which schools could expect to have access to over the medium- to long-term if they chose to engage parents to support the teaching of languages in the curriculum. This has been demonstrated in a number of English studies, as described below.

Charmian Kenner and colleagues, for example, report on a lesson given by a grandmother to a number of primary aged children and younger. She engaged the children in reading, writing and speaking Bengali, introducing them to texts and poetry from Bangladesh (Kenner, 2008). What Kenner and colleagues found so interesting about such practice is the 'synergies' it releases among all participants, children and adults alike, to create rich learning, akin to collaborative learning in schools. The particular pedagogical quality grandmothers bring is their ability to

‘orchestrate’ learning, so that each child is drawn into ‘their ‘class’ individually whilst promoting overall cohesion of the group’ (Gregory et al, 2010).

Elsewhere, Sneddon (2012) describes the role of Albanian mothers in helping their primary-aged children learn to read in Albanian using dual language books provided by the school. The mothers in this study taught the girls letter-sound correspondence, while the girls applied the phonics skills acquired at school to decode the text. This provides another example of the ‘synergies’ in learning described by Kenner, as the mothers were learning English as they negotiated meaning with their daughters.

Kenner and colleagues (2012) looked to harness teaching skills and capacity present in foreign language communities for the benefit of mainstream schools and their pupils more widely. They point in particular to evidence which suggests that teachers in complementary settings build close and supportive relationships with their students, teaching to their students’ strengths and building their confidence. Practices such as peer mentoring, setting high expectations, the promotion of independent learning and group work, were also found to be prevalent among the complementary teachers.

In addition to complementary schools and bilingual adults, the presence of communities of foreign language speakers in many parts of England provide opportunities for real world experiences to practise and develop foreign language skills. Visits to shops catering for immigrant communities are an obvious source of such experiences, whether by reading signs and packaging or interacting with staff. Other opportunities include easy access to foreign language media, such as locally based radio stations and publications, as well as those offered by venues

where language communities come together, such as places of worship and community centres, and accommodation for senior citizens. The benefits for language learning of such real world interaction are the rich language and literacy context they provide and the kinaesthetic aspect to learning they open up (Budden, 2011). Exploiting such locally available opportunities for language learning and use also enables children to make the connections identified as an essential element of successful curricula (Bell et al., 2008, Aitken and Sinnema, 2008). Beyond this, they provide an appropriate and accessible context for furthering the stated aim of the KS2 Languages Programme of Study, that teaching should ‘provide opportunities for [pupils] to communicate for practical purposes’ (DfE, 2013b).

1.5 Summary

Chapter one has provided a rationale for the promotion of bilingualism in English primary schools. The evidence from a broad range of research points clearly to the value of teaching approaches which encourage children to make use of the full range of languages they bring to school, support children to develop language skills in order to optimise learning, and provide a secure environment in which bilingual children can establish relationships and their identity. Examples of practice from England which aligns with the evidence for probilingual practice show what is possible in our primary schools, and the description of resources at schools’ disposal illustrates the language rich environment schools find themselves in, if they were inclined to exploit it. I have used the evidence summarised here to draft a set of four principles for a probilingual curriculum. These, along with the evidence on which they are based, enable me later in the

thesis to establish if the repertoires in teacher talk can be said to support additive bilingualism (prolingual discourse), or contribute to subtractive bilingualism (counterbilingual discourse).

In chapter two, I explore the wider context in which schools operate which hinder a more widespread adoption of prolingual practice and curricula, and illustrate through descriptions of practice and pupil experiences, what a counterbilingual curriculum looks like.

Chapter 2 The linguistic, policy and ideological context in England, and related practice

2.0 Introduction

The review of literature in chapter one set out the rationale for bilingual children to use and learn their home language at school, and the ways in which that is already occurring in some settings in England. In this chapter I describe prevalent attitudes towards bilingualism, explain additional factors which may hinder probilingual practice being wider spread, and describe practice likely to contribute to subtractive bilingualism. Whereas chapter one describes the ‘should’ and ‘could’ of probilingual practice and attitudes, this chapter focuses on what currently *is* in terms of prevalent discourses and practice which, with some exceptions in policy, can be seen to be, on the whole, counterbilingual. This will provide the backdrop – ‘the larger macro ideological order’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2010) – against which to consider the perspectives of practitioners participating in this study.

In this chapter, I first clarify the extent to which England can be described as a multilingual society, before examining prevalent discourses which bemoan this fact and urge suppression of foreign language use in public spaces, and in the home. I then provide an overview of the policy context with regard to MFL and EAL, both of which relay messages nationally and locally with regard to home language use and learning in primary schools. I briefly refer to the development of bilingual free schools in England and what this may say about the readiness to promote bilingual education, before concluding with an overview of teacher practice and bilingual pupil experiences in English primary schools which portray a culture broadly unsupportive of additive bilingualism.

2.1 Languages present in England

England is a linguistically diverse country. Just how diverse, and to what extent languages are used across England, has been clarified in the 2011 census (ONS, 2013). This was the first census to collect information about language knowledge and use, and put the figure of usual residents who spoke a language other than English (or Welsh) as their main language at eight per cent. In London, this was the case for around 22% of usual residents.

Table 2.1 Languages present in England and Wales (ONS, 2013: 9)

England and Wales, 2011. Usual residents aged three and over

Thousands, Per cent

Main Language	Number	Per cent
English (English or Welsh if in Wales)	49,808	92.3
Polish	546	1.0
Panjabi	273	0.5
Urdu	269	0.5
Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya)	221	0.4
Gujarati	213	0.4
Arabic	159	0.3
French	147	0.3
All other Chinese ¹	141	0.3
Portuguese	133	0.2
Spanish	120	0.2
Tamil	101	0.2
Turkish	99	0.2
Italian	92	0.2
Somali	86	0.2
Lithuanian	85	0.2
German	77	0.1
Persian/Farsi	76	0.1
Tagalog/Filipino	70	0.1
Romanian	68	0.1

Table source: Office for National Statistics

The census identified 20 languages, each of which was spoken by at least 0.1% (ca. 68,000) of usual residents in England and Wales. The most common community languages were Polish at around half a million usual residents, followed by Panjabi and Urdu at around quarter of a million each.

2.2 Prevalent attitudes towards community languages in England

While there might be a general consensus about the desirability of foreign language learning in English primary schools (DfE, 2012), the question of the use and promotion of foreign languages within English society more generally, especially when they are associated with the languages of the immigrant population, is a political and controversial one.

A general discomfort among the dominant English-speaking population with the use of foreign languages in daily life manifests itself in various ways. At a policy level, this occurs through ministerial pronouncements on the issue of language use. Eric Pickles, former Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, has portrayed the fact that English is not spoken as the main language in 5% of UK homes as an ‘incomprehensible situation’. He has implied that immigrant parents are not making enough effort to encourage their children to speak English, comparing them to parents in Beijing and Mumbai who are ‘striving’ for their children to learn English (Sky News, 2013).

The pronouncement forms part of a continuing discourse on the problematic nature of immigrants speaking languages other than English. During the period of the Labour government (1997-2010), David Blunkett, as Home Secretary, also urged immigrants to speak English at home, in order to prevent the

‘schizophrenia’ which ‘bedevils’ relationships between generations in immigrant families (Hughes, 2014).

More recently, the leader of the United Kingdom Independence Party expressed discomfort at hearing foreign languages being spoken around him during a train journey (Sparrow, 2014). The party, which supports strict limitations on immigration, enjoyed 27.5% of votes cast in Britain during the 2014 European parliamentary elections (BBC News, 2014).

In daily life too, bilinguals can experience negative reactions to their use of a foreign language in public and work places. In one instance, the manager of a Manchester branch of McDonalds, unhappy with members of his staff speaking with each other in community languages, put up a sign requiring all staff to use English at all times (BBC, 2004). The case was referred to the Commission for Racial Equality, with claims of discrimination against those who did not have English as their native language.

The presence and use of community languages in general is also often linked to the perceived problem of immigration, as the following article from the Daily Mail website illustrates:

Two startling sets of figures this week expose the phenomenal impact of mass, unrestricted immigration on the social fabric of Britain ... The first, from the Department for Education, showed more than a million schoolchildren – up by 250,000 in the past five years alone – speak a language other than English as their mother tongue, while nearly three in 10 primary school pupils belong to ethnic minorities. (Daily Mail, 2013)

While such language of alarm is not supported by empirical evidence about the impact of bilingual children on the learning of their classmates, which has been

shown to be neutral, and in some cases even positive (Geay et al., 2012), it nevertheless reflects an ongoing concern that large numbers of immigrant children might have a detrimental effect on the education of indigenous children. Such concerns are historical and continue a discourse which stretches back to the 1960's in England. Swann (1985), for example, cited disquiet in a Commonwealth and Immigrants Advisory Council report in the following terms:

The presence of a high proportion of immigrant children in one class slows down the general routine of working and hampers the progress of the whole class, especially where the immigrants do not speak or write English fluently. (CIAC, 1964: cited in Swann, 1985: 193)

Policies promoting bilingualism in schools (beyond providing a mainstream MFL curriculum and EAL support) similarly provoke controversy. The announcement of the opening of the Bilingual Primary School in Brighton received a mixed reception on the comments pages of the Argus (the local newspaper) website. The founding of the school was called 'pretentious nonsense' and the founders accused of treating children like guinea pigs on the one hand, while the school was lauded as 'a wonderful initiative' on the other (The Argus, 2012).

If such reaction to bilingual education is typical of what might be expected of future initiatives, the English experience will reflect those of other countries where bilingual education has also proved controversial, including Germany (Meier, 2010), USA (Cummins, 2000), and Spain (Laitin and Reich, 2003).

In order for schools to provide an environment in which bilingual children's 'first language is valued in school and that it is not seen as second rate to English' (Conteh and Brock, 2006), practitioners would need to adopt discourse and practice which reflects greater ease with the foreign language use of their

bilingual pupils than that of society more widely. This would imply that teachers need to detach themselves from ‘the larger macro ideological order, which is increasingly hostile to multilingualism and multiculturalism through its enforcement of monolingualism in society’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2010: 104). The analysis of practitioner talk in chapter 6 provides an indication of the extent to which they do this, and the discussion is taken up again in section 7.1.

In the next section, I review messages with regard to home language learning and use conveyed in policy in England. Two areas of particular interest are MFL policy, which has the potential to promote home language learning in mainstream schools through community / asset language programmes, and EAL policy, which, on the occasions it is formulated in line with research evidence about bilingualism, has highlighted the benefits of home language learning.

2.3 MFL policy for English primary schools and bilingualism

Traditionally, second language learning in English primary schools has run along two tracks: EAL provision for children who arrive with a home language other than English, on the one hand, and MFL provision in Key stage 2 (KS2) for all pupils, on the other.

On occasion, policy advice has emphasised the opportunities for a complementarity between EAL and MFL provision by encouraging home language development for bilingual pupils, and even for promoting the place of community languages on the MFL curriculum (DfES, 2002). However, this has rarely led to any significant inroads in developing a more inclusive and integrated approach to MFL provision in primary schools, in which, on the whole, the

traditional languages have been adopted as the focus of languages teaching: predominantly French, with Spanish, German and Italian the next popular. Languages beyond these mainstream European languages have hardly featured in primary MFL programmes (Driscoll, 2004).

The Pathfinder pilots introduced in 2003 as a prelude to planned universal entitlement to MFL in primary schools by 2010, provided the opportunity for in-school community language learning through additional funding (Ofsted, 2005). While some schools took advantage of this and developed programmes in community languages, the majority of schools extended provision of mainstream languages. In practice, this meant that French continued to dominate the curriculum, with some innovation in German and Spanish teaching. The factors affecting the choice of languages were the existence of teachers who already had some degree of expertise in the language, downward pressure from secondary schools to align with their curriculum, or ‘simply enthusiasm from a teacher or head teacher for a particular language, rather than a clear rationale’ (Ofsted, 2005: 7). In the small number of cases where the Pathfinders supported the teaching of community languages, these were usually for groups of children for whom they were a home language already. It was rarely the case that community languages were taught to whole classes. The Ofsted report on the Pathfinder programme put this down to the lack of qualified teachers available to teach community languages (Ofsted, 2005).

A more substantial promotion of community language learning came via the National Centre for Languages Teaching (CILT), a government sponsored body whose vision was:

a society in which everyone recognises the value of languages and intercultural relationships and is able to use more than one language.
(CILT, 2014)

CILT provided free guidance on developing community language learning provision via its *Community Languages Bulletin*, and supported curriculum design and implementation through the ‘Our Languages’ programme.

Along with a range of other education policy and research bodies, however, government funding for CILT was cut after 2010, as part of the new Coalition Government’s efforts to reduce public spending (The Guardian, 2012). In April 2011, CILT was merged with the Centre for British Teachers charity (CfBT), since when its website has stagnated and the Our Languages website has been removed. The demise of CILT has spelt the end to any national strategy, such as it was, to promote community language learning in primary schools.

Similarly, former direct funding by the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) to support state-funded schools to collaborate with complementary schools to develop curricula also went into abeyance after 2010.

For some local authorities, however, community language learning does remain a priority, and funding is made available in some localities and regions. Languages Sheffield, for example, is a registered company which receives funding from Sheffield City Council and the Paul Hamlyn Foundation (PHF). It supports complementary language schools, and co-ordinates languages learning and use by making links between education providers of all types and local businesses.

Similar examples of support can be found in other parts of the country, through supporting bodies, such as NASSEA, based in Manchester (see section 1.4), and funded projects, such as the Teacher Partnership project in Tower Hamlets, run by

a research team from Goldsmith's College and funded by the local authority and the Paul Hamlyn Foundation. Such examples of local initiatives, however, do not amount to national coverage of support for community language learning.

Certainly, the message currently emerging from central government is for a focus on the traditional languages curriculum. Proposals for the primary curriculum put forward by the Coalition Government in 2012 looked set to formalise the primacy of mainstream foreign languages (French, German, Spanish) in statute, by requiring primary schools to include at least one of these languages on the curriculum, along with Latin, ancient Greek and Mandarin, before any other could be offered (Paton, 2012).

While this stipulation for the new primary curriculum has since been withdrawn (DfE, 2013b), it reflects a view that a hierarchy of languages exists among policy makers, the logic of which appears to be that these are the languages (with the exception of Mandarin) which have traditionally been on the curriculum in English schools.

Assigning different values to different foreign languages in this way, is also reflected in the free schools policy, as described in section 2.5, and is a theme explored in this study. This may be a manifestation of the link between power and languages (Creese and Blackledge, 2011b), in the sense that mainstream European languages (and classical languages) are those with which those in positions of power are most familiar with, both in government and schools. Encouraging the use and learning of community languages which shifts the balance of knowledge in favour of parents, teaching assistants and pupils, is a challenge to prevailing power relations.

2.4 EAL policy for English primary schools and bilingualism

As with guidance on MFL provision in primary schools, home language use and learning has been promoted to varying degrees through EAL policy, with a decline in support from the centre since 2010. The Primary National Strategy (PNS) through its guidance *Excellence and Enjoyment: learning and teaching for bilingual children in the primary years* acknowledged research evidence about the role of a child's first language in their acquisition of additional languages, and advised 'children benefit enormously if they are given opportunities to continue to develop their first language alongside English' (DfES, 2006). Among its guidance, PNS provided a leaflet: *First language for learning* which advised practitioners to:

- value and build on bilingual children's knowledge of other languages
- find out about children's other languages
- investigate attitudes towards the use of other languages in school
- celebrate children's bilingualism, building bilingual children's knowledge about language
- model language learning to pupils (DfES, 2006).

At local authority level too, there has been a strong promotion of children's use of their home languages. Education Bradford, for example, published a policy on multilingualism, which emphasised the importance of multilingualism as a life advantage and included principles such as providing 'support in all the languages

in a child's repertoire', and an entitlement for all children to access a range of languages (Conteh and Brock, 2006: 8).

With the increasing number of EAL pupils entering English schools, the DCSF made EAL a priority area for initial teacher education (ITE) and continuing professional development (CPD), setting out the following remit for the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA):

Recognising the increasing significance of EAL support for children and young people, the Agency should take forward work within the integrated qualifications framework to develop a pathway of qualifications for teachers and support staff to provide leadership in effective EAL teaching and learning (NALDIC, 2009: 3).

In order to evaluate the current state of ITE and CPD provision with regards to EAL, TDA commissioned the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) to carry out a national audit. Drawing on data from a web-based search, survey returns from 56 local authorities and follow-up telephone interviews with 35 LAs, the NALDIC team concluded:

Overall the picture regarding EAL CPD and vocational training is inconsistent. There is a high level of variation between the training available to staff in different LAs and different regions and a limited differentiated training for groups of staff at different stages of their careers (NALDIC, 2009: 5).

The audit was designed to inform a strategy for the development of EAL, to be carried out by the Institute of Education, London. While the Institute in turn reviewed EAL practice and training provision internationally as a first step to the

project, its conclusions were not acted upon⁴, coinciding as it did with a change in government and philosophy of how education policy should be formulated and enacted.

The lack of coherence on EAL at policy level is reflected by a patchwork of quality and coverage of provision in different authorities and schools. Wallace and Mallow's (2009) summary of ten case studies across authorities in England found those taking responsibility for EAL provision in schools could range from head teacher to teaching assistant, and specialist training was not necessarily a prerequisite for taking on the role. Partnership working either with mainstream staff or between EAL specialist / support staff was noticeable by its absence, as was 'any sense of an EAL pedagogy' (Wallace and Mallows, 2009: 11). Wallace and Mallows also noted that what Ofsted deemed as 'good' EAL provision tended to focus on cultural diversity rather than language diversity, and there was 'little awareness to the language demands of the curriculum' (2009: 9).

It was also clear from the case studies that, in spite of the official policy message of inclusion in the mainstream classroom, withdrawal for children with EAL was common. Indeed, the marginalisation of bilingual children is evident from reports of how their language provision is accommodated, whether that be in terms of 'borrowed' spaces for community language learning (Creese and Blackledge, 2011b, Kenner and Ruby, 2012a, Robertson, 2007), or EAL sessions in corridors (Wardman, 2012).

So, while there have been probilingual messages from the centre and some LAs, the mechanisms for ensuring related practice is adopted have been found to be

⁴ <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/research/97856.html>

lacking. Those advocating additive bilingualism, in whatever form, clearly at times get the attention of policy makers and influence the message conveyed to teachers, but lack of system-wide progress is symptomatic of a wider inertia in this area.

In his review of EAL in 2009, Andrews identified 10 major areas which needed to be addressed. At the level of practice, these included:

- promoting bilingualism from an early age and a move away from a deficit model of EAL
- mainstreaming of EAL pupils with sufficient language support
- all pupils' linguistic and cultural competence be taken into account in the design of literacy teaching.

The implications for this for teacher training and CPD were that there should be:

- a focus on language proficiency, along with a recognition that good EAL language strategies are good for English as mother tongue speakers too
- a distinction made between EAL and special educational needs (SEN).
- partnership working between EAL specialists and content specialists.

Probably the most challenging recommendation to the prevalent culture was a call for a 'move towards plurilingualism in policy and practice.'

Safford and Drury (2013) underscore the extent to which a counterbilingual culture prevails at the level of policy and practice by highlighting the untapped

potential of bilingual trainee teachers about to embark on a primary career. Such teachers have a contribution to make to pedagogic knowledge and practice more widely and to the inclusion and achievement of bilingual pupils, in particular:

But as ‘mirror-participants’ in monolingual institutions, these trainee teachers, like bilingual children, are prevented from activating their linguistic, cultural and community expertise through institutional and professional lack of recognition. (Safford and Drury, 2013: 74)

With the advent of the Coalition Government in 2010 the likelihood that any of these recommendations would be taken up and addressed centrally diminished. Education policy was now based on a stated principle of increased autonomy for schools, and less government direction. Lord Hill of Oareford, at the time he was schools minister, said that the Coalition’s education policy was ‘*to deliver as little as possible from the centre.*’ (Baker, 2010)

One consequence of this new approach was the dismantling of education agencies, including TDA, and CILT (see section 2.3). Another has been a reduction in advice on curriculum design, and the removal of reference to the development or promotion of bilingual children’s home language, except where this exists in documents retained from the previous administration (DfE, 2013a). Where EAL is mentioned in the new Primary Curriculum, the message conveyed is English-only. Section 4.6 of the national curriculum framework document, for example, states:

The ability of pupils for whom English is an additional language to take part in the national curriculum may be in advance of their communication skills in English. Teachers should plan teaching opportunities to help pupils develop their English and should aim to provide the support pupils need to take part in all subjects. (DfE, 2013c: 9)

This is the only reference to EAL in the document.

The revised Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) guidance, on the other hand, does acknowledge home languages as an asset, and underlines the importance of home language development in supporting the learning of English:

Underpinning the EYFS Profile assessment is the understanding that language is central to our sense of identity and belonging to a community, and that linguistic diversity is a strength that is recognised and valued. Practitioners may need to help parents understand that a child's home language development will help them learn English. (Standards and Testing Agency, 2013: 15)

As with guidance on community language provision, the absence of advice on supporting EAL and home language development from central government means that it falls on those local authorities which have configured their services appropriately, along with non-statutory organisations, to fill the gap. At national level, NALDIC, unlike CILT, continues to thrive as a subscription organisation, and so up to date resources and guidance for teaching bilingual children are still available, often on a free to access basis.

Taken as a whole, however, the policy environment as it relates to MFL and EAL seems unlikely to shift from the prevalent paradigm identified by Safford and Drury, where language learning in principle is regarded as a good thing, but where teachers do not engage with the necessary pedagogy to make the most of languages for learning: 'this paradigm is illustrated by the education policy which encourages teachers and schools to celebrate children's linguistic diversity but which does not require or promote mainstream teachers' linguistic knowledge or training' (2013: 73). In relation to this latter point, Safford and Drury invoke Del Hymes's observation that:

it is permissible 'to speak of the great role of language in general, but never language in particular' which leads to 'a tendency to treat some linguistic particularities as inferior.' (Hymes, 1989: cited in Safford and Drury, 2013)

The suggestion of a hierarchy of languages here echoes the emphasis on mainstream European languages, already discussed in section 2.3, and which appears to be reflected in the type of bilingual schools selected under the free schools policy, which I discuss in the next section.

2.5 Free schools policy and support for bilingual schools

A significant innovation in bilingual education in England has been the creation for the first time of state-funded bilingual schools, through the 2010-2015 Coalition Government's Free Schools program. These are:

- the Bilingual Primary School, Brighton (Spanish – English)
- Bromley Bilingual Primary School (French – English)
- Judith Kerr Primary School, Herne Hill (German – English)

The new bilingual free schools complement bilingual streaming in a small number of existing schools, such as Wix Primary School in London.

Controversial in many respects (Mansell, 2014), Free Schools funding has enabled parents interested in a bilingual education for their children to support the establishment of bilingual schools in their area. While the creation of bilingual free schools has depended on the presence in particular localities of enthusiasts and specialists with the appropriate skills and willingness to devote time and

energy to the enterprise, government endorsement is the strongest indication yet that English policy makers support bilingual education in principle. It is however telling that the schools which have been approved are based on traditional, mainstream languages. In the light of DfE reluctance to share information about schools whose applications have been rejected (McInerney, 2014), it is hard to say if bilingual schools in community languages have been applied for and rejected, or if there is a lack of interest and /or appropriate support to establish these.

2.6 Teacher practice and bilingual pupil experiences in English primary schools

In this final section, I draw on research evidence to describe practice pupils experience in English primary schools, which may be designated counterbilingual. As with the description of probilingual practices in English settings in section 1.3, the nature of the evidence base in this area means that the overview illustrates what such practices look like, rather than indicating the extent to which such practices are prevalent.

From their knowledge of practice in Tower Hamlets, Kenner and Gregory paint a picture of reduced opportunities for bilingual children to use their home language in schools. Its use appears to be tolerated but only for as long as is necessary for a child to make the transition to fluent English (Kenner et al., 2008: 124).

Comments made to Kenner's team during their research also indicate that bilingual children felt there were areas of the school that were out of bounds for the use of the home language. One child said: 'this is the school hall, we're not used to speaking Bengali here', another asked: 'why can't we speak Bangla in class?' When talking about their use of languages, children told the researchers

that they spoke English and Bangla at home, but no Bangla at school. The children believed it was ‘not allowed, because some teachers don’t understand what we say’ (Kenner et al., 2010: 16). Teachers confirmed that they felt uneasy about bilingual children using their home language in school, they expressed concern that children might be making negative comments, and that children who did not know the home language, might feel excluded if it was used (Kenner et al., 2010: 20).

With regard to encouragement of family engagement with bilingual children’s learning, teachers have been found to lack interest in finding out about children’s abilities beyond those visible in the classroom:

Often, bilingual pupils’ teachers in one context know very little about what goes on in the other (ie family / community context). (Conteh and Brock, 2006)

The work of Kenner and colleagues in Tower Hamlets found that once teachers were engaged with bilingual activities, children’s abilities came as a revelation to them. Teachers were surprised at pupils’ language ability in their home language, and how they carried out other tasks, such as solving mathematics problems, in their home language (Kenner et al., 2010).

Failure on the part of schools and teachers to understand children’s home and community environments and interactions, mean it is left to the children to reconcile the different worlds they inhabit: ‘it is the children who are making sense for themselves of very diverse learning experiences’ (Conteh and Brock, 2006).

Kenner et al (2008) identify more broadly a largely transitional approach to home language use in the classroom. Bilingual assistants use Bangla to help children new to English settle into learning, but drop it once the child is conversant in English. Similarly, the teaching assistants in Cable et al's study (2004) spoke of the transitional role of home language use:

I will be concentrating on what the teacher's doing in English, whereas I'll be doing in my language, the same thing, and then reinforcing it in English, later, it will be like translating, reinforcing and just sort of explaining. So I will be using my language rather than English. I mean in the later stages it gets better, because the children have been there for a whole year. So they are at the stage where they do understand. (Cable et al., 2004: 9)

Here, the principle of sustained support for bilingualism is not maintained, rather bilingualism is a phase on the path to English-only classroom interaction.

A further issue identified in Cable et al's study is that a large responsibility for bilingual children's learning is given to teaching assistants. This would appear appropriate, where the assistant is bilingual and can help a child understand learning content and make family links. However, overreliance on TAs for a primary child's learning can have a detrimental impact (Blatchford et al., 2009), and there is evidence that bilingual pupils spend a disproportionate amount of time with TAs (Wallace and Mallows, 2009). While TAs perform many helpful tasks in the classroom, they are not in a position to lead children's learning in the same way teachers are. This is illustrated by Wardman's comparison of the quality of teacher-child versus TA-child interactions in the classroom (2013),

where teachers, as might be expected, were more skilful in their questioning and extending pupil responses. The implication of TAs spending relatively more time with bilingual pupils and classroom teachers relatively less, and only TAs engaging with children's home languages, is that both TAs and pupils are perceived as something apart from the mainstream and have a lower value attached to themselves and the languages they speak. This also manifests itself in other ways, such as spaces in school where home languages are not permitted, as described above, or support for bilingual pupils being provided in school corridors (Wardman, 2013).

Several studies have highlighted the impact of counterbilingual practices in primary schools on children's perceptions and behaviour, and illustrated how bilingual children themselves have to learn to navigate teacher and other children's expectations (Kenner et al., 2010, Robertson, 2007, Kenner et al., 2008, Drury, 2004). Kenner et al found that children compartmentalised their use of languages in school in line with perceived expectations. Children in their studies were highly sensitive to the use of their home language, and reluctant to do so in front of teachers. This became clear as the teachers introduced bilingual interventions. Researchers noticed that, despite the fact bilingual children were given permission and even encouragement to speak Bangla in the classroom, they were tongue-tied when it came to doing so, even though they spoke Bangla freely in the playground (Kenner et al., 2008). Just how embedded in the psyche of children this compartmentalisation of language use is, was illustrated eloquently by one boy who was asked why he was so reluctant to speak Bangla in class:

'when I talk Bangla my zaan calls me to speak English again in school and at home I just know it straight away'. His comment was made entirely in

Bangla and drew laughter from his classmates in shared recognition of the specifically Bengali concept of zaan, which roughly translates as 'heart' or 'soul'. (Kenner et al., 2008: 128)

That on the whole monolingual teachers convey messages which mean bilingual children learn not to use or associate their home language with school, may be put down to a desire to maintain control over what happens, and is said in the classroom. One consideration is the change in power relations which can occur if children are speaking in a language they are more skilled in than the teacher themselves. Pauline Gibbons highlights the unsettling impact on teachers of allowing multiple language use in the classroom:

This need for a switch in focus from teaching to learning can actually feel quite threatening, especially if your pupils speak languages that you, as their teacher, do not understand. It can feel like a shift in power relationships in the classroom. (Gibbons cited in Conteh and Begum, 2006: 65)

Teachers, particularly those starting out on their careers, declare a lack of preparedness in supporting bilingual pupils (Teacher Development Agency, 2010), which is unsurprising in the light of inconsistencies in training and CPD described in section 2.4. Safford and Drury found:

Interviews and surveys with cohorts of new teachers over three years show that their most commonly identified professional needs relate to practical teaching methods and the development of appropriate resources for bilingual pupils, linguistic and cultural awareness and differentiation. (Safford and Drury, 2013: 74)

Kenner and colleagues also encountered uncertainty about the value of the bilingual practices they wished to introduce among monolingual teachers:

They wondered whether Bangla was still necessary in the classroom or whether children were learning sufficiently through English only. They also wondered how bilingual strategies could be used in the classroom, particularly when they themselves did not speak Bangla, and some children spoke only English or languages other than Bangla. (Kenner et al., 2008: 125)

The extract indicates how the impulse to counterbilingual practices is linked with beliefs about the nature of language and language learning, and the relationship between a bilingual's two languages. The job of supporting teachers to shift practice so that children learn in an environment of additive bilingualism is considerable. Kenner and colleagues achieved this through a programme of collaborative and sustained CPD, in which teachers evaluated for themselves the impact their changing practice had on their pupils. Kenner et al's studies also demonstrated the facilitative role bilingual children themselves can play in supporting teachers to change practice:

Children knew why teachers felt unsure about the use of Bangla in class. They understood that non-Bangla speaking pupils could feel excluded, and discussed this issue with sensitivity. However, they were keen to use both languages for learning, based on their experiences in the research project (Kenner et al., 2008: 9).

The research programme in Tower Hamlets illustrated the need for trust between teachers and pupils, but once that was established, it unleashed energy and ideas from among the pupils:

Children had positive ideas for how they could use LI in school: writing a diary entry or letter of complaint to a restaurant, share stories with teachers – they were excited about interacting with their teachers. (Kenner et al., 2010: 19)

Nevertheless, changes from old ways of thinking took time to overcome:

some expressed initial anxiety that they hoped to get over: 'I'm not brave enough to speak Bangla to [my teacher]. ' (Kenner et al., 2010: 19).

2.7 Summary

In this chapter I have drawn on a range of sources which indicate a general unease with the use of languages in English society other than English. This may be linked with the presence in England of an ongoing migrant community which speaks languages other than English, among a largely monolingual indigenous population. It may also explain a reluctance among bilingual children to use their home language in the presence of English speaking adults and peers. This general discourse which discounts the value of foreign languages in English society, manifests itself in policy, including, ironically, MFL policy itself, which overlooks foreign languages widely spoken in England in favour of mainstream European languages. The inconsistent nature of EAL support, training and structures within school, suggests a low priority given to provision for bilingual children, and contributes to teachers continuing default practices which apparently

contribute to subtractive bilingualism. Teacher practice described in section 2.6 ran counter to the principles of:

- providing opportunities for bilingual pupils to use their home language
- pupils were not comfortable using their home language in the classroom
- encouraging family engagement – teachers were unaware of children’s abilities beyond those displayed in the English-only classroom
- sustained support for bilingualism – transitional bilingualism was prevalent in several examples.

Teacher reluctance to engage in probilingual practice was linked to a lack of training, but also to questions of control and power relations in the classrooms – themes which will be explored in the analysis of survey and discourse data in this study.

Taken together chapters one and two provide an overview of evidence of practice and discourse as it relates to additive and subtractive bilingualism. I have also described the wider ideological and policy context with regard to foreign languages, in which schools operate, and language policy, both official and unofficial, is formulated.

The analysis of practitioner and pupil data in this study sees a return to several of these issues. In Chapter three I set out the theoretical principles on which the analysis of practitioner talk is carried out.

Chapter 3 Practitioner talk in context

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I develop in detail the theoretical framework to aid the analysis of the data for this study. The literature review so far suggests a spectrum of understanding among practitioners about what constitutes appropriate practice for bilingual pupils, ranging from suppression of home language use, albeit unconscious (Kenner et al., 2008a) to active encouragement of and support for home language learning (Sneddon, 2012). Differing contexts no doubt play a part in this diversity, including the role played by school leadership (Brock, 1999: cited in Conteh, 2011), and the absence or presence of EAL and research specialists (Conteh, 2011). There is also the role played by wider policy guidance and structures, the patchy nature of EAL training for example (NALDIC, 2009), which may influence practitioner discourse in relation to bilingual pupils. The theoretical framework should therefore facilitate an exploration of the interplay between practitioner talk on the one hand, and school and wider contextual factors on the other, while at the same time being sensitive to the fact that the analysis for the most part is focussed on the interactions of individual practitioners. To this end, I draw on Giddens's structuration theory as a way of framing the structure-agency relationship implied here. I also focus on the concept of repertoire to support the analysis of the discourse data. The concepts of agency, structure and repertoire are elaborated on in the following sections.

3.1 Giddens's structuration model

At the heart of Giddens's structuration model is the duality of agency and structure (Giddens, 1984). His conception of the relationship between the

individual and social structure, contrasts with the functionalist and structuralist traditions, which focus on the influence of social conditions on the individual, thereby creating a society-individual *dualism*. Giddens's *duality*, on the other hand, conceives a reciprocal relationship between structure and agent, whereby individuals reproduce similar social practices, which by their reproduction over time and space 'exhibit structural properties' (Giddens, 1984: 17). The existence of structure depends on the recurrence of those practices:

Structure exists, as time-space presence, only in its instantiations in such practices and as memory traces orienting the conduct of knowledgeable human beings. (Giddens, 1984: 17)

Through interaction, therefore, individuals play a part in either maintaining existing structures, or disrupting them.

Individuals are 'knowledgeable' in the sense that they are well versed in the practices they need for day-to-day interaction with others, and, in reproducing those practices, maintain the structure. Importantly, however, an individual's knowledgeability is bounded by:

- the 'unconscious' – 'forms of cognition and impulsion which are either wholly repressed from consciousness or appear in consciousness only in distorted form' (Giddens, 1984: 4-5)
- 'unacknowledged conditions of action' – reasons beyond the consciousness of the individual for the actions they take
- 'unintended consequences' – 'events which would not have happened if the actor had behaved differently' (Giddens, 1984: 11)

‘Unacknowledged conditions of action’, and ‘unintended consequences’ are areas the researcher can shed light on. Giddens summarises research carried out by Willis (1977) to demonstrate, among others, that in the very act of rebelling at school, a group of boys were making more certain the reproduction of wider social and employment structures. In this current study, the review of literature on outcomes for different approaches to teaching and learning provides an indication of the consequences of those approaches for bilingual pupils’ learning and development, something which the participants themselves are often not familiar with. I return to this theme of the limits of what any individual can know in the discussion about repertoires.

Another key element of structuration theory is that individuals are also reflexive. That is to say, they have reasons for engaging in activity and, if asked, could explain what those reasons are. ‘‘Reflexivity’ should be understood ... as the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life’ (Giddens, 1984: 3). Such monitoring is important as the reasons an individual has for acting the way they do should also meet the expectations of others, for the routine flow of social interaction to run smoothly:

The rationalisation of action, within the diversity of circumstances of interaction, is the principal basis upon which the generalised ‘competence’ of actors is evaluated by others. (Giddens, 1984: 4)

To this extent, ‘social rules’ have a constraining influence on individual behaviour. ‘Constraint’ has a particular meaning in structuration theory, where individuals are not helpless victims to some external force, but are actively involved in making constraint happen (Giddens, 1984: 289). This is related to the

earlier point that structure is only reproduced to the extent that it is enacted, and also to the fact that structuration theory sees individuals as having options.

Giddens refers to rules and resources as the key features of structure. Rules provide a framework for action in particular contexts. The rules of social life are 'techniques or generalizable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practices' (Giddens, 1984: 21). Rules are on the whole understood and enacted tacitly. In fact, 'discursive formulation of a rule is already an interpretation of it' (Giddens, 1984: 23). Rules I identify in the practitioner discourse data, therefore, provide a partial picture of the framework within which individuals operate in their day-to-day. I add to the picture by including pupil data in this part of the analysis at individual school level.

Resources are 'allocative' (material or physical resources), or 'authoritative' (such as the organisation of school life), and, in Giddens's terms, are a means for domination (Giddens, 1984: 33). In the analysis, I am particularly interested in practitioner descriptions of the use of artefacts, time, space and languages themselves as it has an impact on bilingual pupils' use and learning of the home language. In particular, Giddens's notion of 'retention and control of information or knowledge' (Giddens, 1984: 261) is apposite in a situation where children may draw on linguistic and cultural resources alien to the experience of the majority of practitioners.

Inequalities occur around differences in access to resources, creating imbalances in individuals' ability to exert power (defined by Giddens as 'the means of getting things done'). 'Power struggles' occur 'with efforts to subdivide resources which yield modalities of control in social systems' (Giddens, 1984: 283).

Given these inequalities, the question arises as to why the structure which perpetuates them is not challenged in ways which achieve fairer distribution. Without going into the issues of distribution of resources in depth, as it is not a primary concern of this study, the answers which Giddens provides are pertinent to explaining inertia in maintaining existing practices and discourse in schools. He points to routine as the 'predominant form of day-to-day social activity' (Giddens, 1984: 282). By maintaining routine, individuals 'minimise unconscious sources of anxiety' and 'sustain a sense of ontological security'. Innovation and change, in other words, are psychologically unsettling, and often resisted. Creese demonstrates this eloquently in her study of a student protest in a London school over perceived unequal treatment by teachers. She describes how the protests and resultant conversations temporarily changed the power dynamics in the school, before the head teacher created consensus among staff, students and parents to return to a dominant discourse of 'equal opportunity' and 'united community' (Creese, 2003).

Another aspect of structuration theory relevant to analysis of the data in this study is the way consciousness is conceived. Rationalisation of action takes place in practical consciousness, and less frequently, in discursive consciousness. In fact, reasons for action are usually only voiced 'when some piece of conduct is specifically puzzling or when there is a 'lapse' or fracture in the competency which might in fact be an intended one' (Giddens, 1984: 6). The postulation of two types of consciousness, raises the question of whether what is reported discursively is a true reflection of rationalisation in practical consciousness. While there are 'differences between what can be said and what is characteristically simply done' (Giddens, 1984: 7), Giddens sees the boundary between practical

and discursive consciousness to be permeable. Taking at face value discursive reasons as a reflection of rationalisation of action is indeed problematic given its complexity and taken-for-granted nature, 'however, it is expected by competent agents of others ... that actors will usually be able to explain what they do' (Giddens, 1984: 6). This would imply ethnography, direct observation of interactions, provides a clearer view of the process of rationalisation, but indirect methods of interview and even questionnaires may also provide insights in this regard.

Despite the constraints within which the individual acts, and pressure to comply with social rules, the ultimate choice of compliance rests with the individual. Giddens makes the subtle distinction between actors having only one option in a particular situation, because they wish to avoid the sanction of not complying, and 'not being able to act otherwise'. In the first instance, the actor's desire not to be sanctioned plays a role in the choice made, suggesting in fact that there was an alternative option (Giddens, 1984: 309). This explanation emphasises the force of constraints for compliance, but also the presence of agency.

The aspects of structuration theory which will be relevant to the analysis here are:

- The structure which the participants describe and work within are reproduced by them (agency), and therefore engagement with the research and evidence has the potential to bring about change
- Knowledgeability and reflexivity mean that participants are able to describe the structure within which they work, but not necessarily the conditions or consequences of their actions

- Resources and rules constrain and enable individual action, but individuals have different degrees of access to resources, and of say on how the rules are set, therefore the position of the individual speaking (head, teacher, TA) is important
- A desire to maintain routine and achieve ‘a sense of ontological security’ would contribute to inertia and resistance to change within a school
- Discursive consciousness is not the same as practical consciousness, and so research which includes observation of actions, as well as participant accounts, would provide a fuller picture.

As practitioner accounts form the basis of the research as it was implemented, I now consider the concept of repertoire.

3.2 Repertoire as a theoretical concept

In a thesis with a focus on language use and learning, the term ‘repertoire’ can be an ambiguous one, as it means different things in different research traditions. In linguistics, repertoire refers to the knowledge of language and language resources an individual has at their disposal, including second and additional languages (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). In discourse analysis (DA) the notion of ‘interpretative repertoire’ focuses on recognisable clusters of language which individuals draw on to achieve goals in conversation.

The concept of interpretative repertoire has been developed in several discourse theories, including discourse analysis and discursive psychology. Robin Wooffitt (2005) traces the origins of discourse analysis back to the work of Nigel Gilbert

and Michael Mulkay, who explored the nature of a scientific dispute in the 1970s. Their analysis of the data showed that the same scientists were providing different and conflicting accounts of what were on the surface the same phenomena, such as the nature of a chemical process, or the characteristics of individual scientists. This in turn led Gilbert and Mulkay to critique the traditional approach to sociological research, which makes assumptions that:

- social scientists are able to distinguish accurate accounts from those which adhere less to the truth
- because a large number of participants say the same thing, this necessarily relates to an objective truth
- there can be one ‘true’ account of an event, glossing over the fact that an event can be described in a multitude of ways, depending on the features the speaker (and indeed the researcher) chooses to emphasise (Wooffitt, 2005: 17).

In consequence, Gilbert and Mulkay turned their attention to the context in which different accounts were made, and what interlocutors were aiming to achieve by making them. Different accounts of the same phenomena were labelled as ‘interpretative repertoires’, a concept further developed in the work of Potter and Wetherell (1987).

Potter and Wetherell applied the approach to the study of attitudes, leading to the development of discursive psychology (Wiggins and Potter, 2007), which questioned the traditional assumptions of social psychology.

Edwards and Potter regarded this approach as rooted in several linguistic traditions, including the theories of language developed by Austin and Wittgenstein, speech act theories, the work of Gilbert and Mulkay, conversation analysis, and poststructuralism (Wiggins and Potter, 2007).

Edwards and Potter developed a 9-point framework, the discursive action model, which highlighted three elements as important in the analysis of discourse:

- the focus is on action: when an individual provides an account of a situation, these are ‘situated in activity sequences’, such as defending oneself, blaming others, refusing invitations etc
- individuals manage reports to highlight the factual nature of what they are saying, and to deflect from their stake or interest in the particular version of events they are reporting
- there is a focus on agency and accountability in the reporting of events, including the accountability of the speaker, both in the reported events and the way they are reporting them (Edwards and Potter, 1992: cited in Horton-Salway, 2001).

As is clear from the framework, a key interest of discursive psychology is in positioning, and how an interlocutor will draw on one account rather than another to achieve this. Similarly, the speaker will draw on a range of accounts to create an identity (Horton-Salway, 2001: 166). Here it is possible to draw parallels with Giddens’s duality of structure (pre-existing repertoire), and agency (how an individual draws on repertoires to position themselves in a particular situation).

In a third, sociological sense, a repertoire refers to ‘an array of cultural resources’ (Vaisey, 2010), that individuals draw on to make meaning and operate within any given culture.

While the term ‘repertoire’ is mainly conceptualised in the DA sense for the purposes of this thesis, I also draw on some of the literature from cultural sociology to extend understanding of the concept. I do this with caution, firstly as DA conceives of ‘repertoires’ as different ways of characterising phenomena, whereas in cultural sociology each ‘repertoire’ is seen as belonging to a community or social group, encompassing all elements which carry meaning. Secondly, the concept of ‘culture’ is problematic in the context of this research, in that it is not the ethnic social groupings of cultural sociology which is its focus. Nevertheless, some of the ideas developed as part of the understanding of ‘repertoire’ in the sociological context provide helpful insights for framing the analysis of this study, particularly in its description of the dynamic nature of repertoire.

In the field of cultural sociology, Swidler describes repertoire as a ‘tool kit’ of ‘habits, skills, and styles from which people construct ‘strategies of action’’ (1986: 273). In this way, Swidler makes the link between ways of conceiving and talking about the world, on the one hand, and action on the other. Swidler introduces the concept of ‘symbolic vehicles of meaning’ as the elements which constitute any given repertoire. A symbolic vehicle of meaning can be the rituals, beliefs, and art forms of religion, but can also be applied to more mundane objects, practices and talk, such as the height of piles of paper, seating arrangements, and gossip, Wenger identifies in an office ‘community of practice’ (Wenger, 1998). Wenger describes elements of a shared repertoire including

‘routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced in the course of its existence, and which have become part of its practice’ (Wenger, 1998: 83). In this way, the concept of repertoire comprises actions, objects and discourse.

In DA, the discourse *is* the action. Repertoires are drawn on to achieve certain outcomes within the conversation itself. In this tradition, repertoires are characterised as a linguistic device, consisting of:

broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions, commonplaces ... and figures of speech often clustered around metaphors of vivid images and often using distinct grammatical constructions and styles. (Wetherell and Potter, 1992: 90)

Edley and Wetherell add *evaluation* as a key element in their definition of interpretative repertoire:

a recognisable routine of arguments, descriptions, and evaluations distinguished by familiar clichés, common places, tropes and characterisations of actors and situations. (Edley and Wetherell, 2001: 443)

Through ‘arguments’, ‘evaluations’, and ‘characterisation’ value is attached to the objects of conversation. This is important in the analysis here, where practitioners assign values to different practices in relation to bilingual pupils within their discourse, and so provide justifications for both pro- and counterbilingual positions. Similarly, individuals use different repertoires to attribute or deflect blame or responsibility, for taking or failing to take particular actions. Whereas such phenomena had formed part of attribution theory in traditional social

psychology, where attributions are considered a ‘decontextualised, cognitive phenomenon’, in DA:

attributions should be understood in the first instance as social actions which are contingent on, and oriented to, a wider web of social and discursive activities, such as blamings, accusations and rebuttals.

(Wooffitt, 2005: 54)

Attributions form a central feature of five of the repertoires identified in this study:

- ‘locating responsibility away’
- ‘accepting responsibility’
- ‘EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive’
- ‘home language use as subversive’
- ‘school focus on home languages as something difficult’

In terms of broader principles, both cultural and interpretative repertoires have in common the concept that they represent a pool of resources which individuals draw on to achieve certain outcomes:

Interpretative repertoires are part and parcel of any community’s common sense, providing a basis for shared social understanding. They can be usefully thought of as books on the shelves of a public library, permanently available for borrowing. (Edley, 2001: 198)

Potter and Wetherell describe the enterprise of DA as achieving a description of the 'library'. The interpretative repertoires '*become established as solid, real and independent of the speaker*' (Potter and Wetherell, 1995).

Repertoires, both cultural and interpretative, also have in common the idea that they consist of pre-fabricated elements which are combined in practice. For Edley, interpretative repertoires are:

relatively coherent ways of talking about objects and events in the world. In discourse analytical terms, they are the 'building blocks of conversation.' (Edley, 2001: 198)

In cultural sociology, repertoires are conceived of as 'lines of action' or 'strategies of action' (Swidler, 1986: 277). This is the construction of a response to a situation using various appropriate elements of the repertoire. Such construction of responses occurs as a combination of pre-existing ways of talking about the world and practice, and the creation of new links:

People do not build lines of action from scratch, choosing actions one at a time as efficient means to given ends. Instead, they construct chains of action beginning with at least some pre-fabricated links. (Swidler, 1986: 277)

A repertoire provides both a world view, 'an image of the world in which one is trying to act', as well as the means for action and understanding in particular circumstances. The repertoire is both internalised, ie an individual often draws on it unconsciously, and is shared among a community.

To adopt a line of conduct, one needs an image of the kind of world in which one is trying to act, a sense that one can read reasonably accurately

(through one's own feelings and through the feelings of others) how one is doing, and a capacity to choose among alternative lines of enquiry.

(Swidler, 1986: 275).

In this respect, the concept of repertoire aligns with Giddens's structuration model, in that it is both *enabling* – individuals make choices about the elements of the repertoire they employ in any given situation – and *constraining* – the choices they have are limited to the repertoire (Giddens, 1984: 173). The concept of repertoire allows for:

a measure of individual meaning and agency in mobilizing and choosing a specific configuration of cultural resources, while also stressing the public, and publicly available nature of those resources. (Silber, 2003: 431)

The ways of conceiving and talking about the world are limited to the repertoires an individual has access to, but its 'symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views' can be configured 'to solve different kinds of problems' (Swidler, 1986: 273).

Where the DA and sociological conceptualisations of repertoire differ is in terms of action. While cultural sociology has a broader perspective to include practice as well as talk, traditional DA focuses on the conversation itself as the locus of action:

[DA] is concerned with what people do with their talk and writing (discourse practices) and also with the sorts of resources that people draw on in the course of those practices (the devices, category systems, narrative characters and interpretative repertoires which provide a machinery for social life). (Potter and Wetherell, 1995: 80-81)

This is not the case for all forms of DA, multimodal discourse analysis, for example, goes beyond conversation and text to include observations of action in the analysis (Jewitt and Jones, 2008).

In DA, the fact that any one individual may draw on several repertoires in one conversation makes a face-value reading of the content of conversations problematic. DA is more concerned with what an individual is trying to achieve through talk (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). In this way, DA accommodates the fact that people often take contradictory positions within the same conversation. In their own research Potter and Wetherell identified six varying expressed attitudes from the same participant about a particular ethnic group in New Zealand, and came to the conclusion:

it is impossible to argue that the claim, Polynesian immigration is desirable and the claim that it is undesirable are merely facets of one complex attitude. (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 53)

In cultural sociology, no such distinction between discourse and other types of behaviour is made when describing repertoires. Silber sees it as an advantage that the idea of repertoire connotes both '*the ready enactment and concrete performance of practical or practicable options*' (Silber, 2003: 431), and indeed, such a conflation into a single concept explains discrepancies between what an individual says and how they act:

Repertoire theory ... seems to deal successfully with the observed fact that people profess ideals they do not follow, utter platitudes without examining their validity and allow gaps between the explicit norms,

worldviews, and rules of conduct they espouse and the ways they habitually act. (Vaisey, 2010: 7)

An individual's ability to act in various social contexts, and life generally, is limited by the extent of the access they have to repertoires. Edley points out, that 'a language culture may supply a whole range of ways of talking about or constructing an object or event', the options to use them are unequal:

Some constructions or formulations will be more 'available' than others; they are easier to say. (Edley, 2001: 190)

Edley's argument is that some ways of describing the world take on the appearance of 'facts' which serve particular interests. Garrett adds the point that access to various elements of a repertoire also differs from individual to individual, and implies this has consequences for the way they are able to cope with different situations:

A key implication of the theory is that individuals with richer, more diverse repertoires are better able to situate their actions and perspectives and to face diverse and unpredictable challenges than are people with less rich repertoires. (Garrett, 2016)

Familiarity with a cultural repertoire is a prerequisite of functioning competently within a community. Familiarity with the repertoire also means members of the community engage with it unconsciously. The ease with which an individual accesses repertoires becomes noticeable when that individual leaves their cultural community:

The lack of this ease is what we experience as 'culture shock' when we move from one cultural community to another. (Swidler, 1986: 275)

The degree of access any individual has to cultural repertoires naturally varies, and links have been made between social, economic and educational advantages and greater cultural repertoire diversity (Garrett, 2016). However, individuals' social behaviour can also contribute to increasing the interpretative resources they have at their disposal. Swidler (2001) found that participants in her study added to their understanding of marital relationships by being exposed to people with alternative practices, engaging in a variety of activities and organisations, and via 'integration into a wider community' (Garrett, 2016). To this extent, the concept of repertoire also contributes to our understanding of the learning process, and suggests participants will be open to new perspectives to varying degrees.

However, individuals do not change or add to their cultural repertoire easily:

People do not readily take advantage of new structural opportunities which would require them to abandon established ways of life. This is not because they cling to cultural values, but because they are reluctant to abandon strategies or action for which they have the cultural equipment.

(Swidler, 1986: 281)

In other words, if a proposed action challenges familiar values, actions and discourse in the existing repertoire, this implies a risk, if it is taken, of moving into the unknown.

Vaisey describes in other terms the inertia which means individuals are resistant to make changes to their culture repertoire:

Since a person's culture repertoire can be more or less extensive and its elements more or less well mastered, people have a tendency to go with

what they know; that is, in order to avoid costly cultural retooling, people act in ways that utilize their skills. (Vaisey, 2010: 10)

The concept of repertoire described here is relevant to the analysis in this study in the following ways:

- individuals draw from a pre-existing, publicly shared set of repertoires / resources during interaction with others
- both DA and cultural sociology account for contradictions in individuals' talk, in the case of DA (different repertoires), and between what people say and their actions, in the case of cultural sociology (variety within repertoires).
- cultural sociology theory makes several connections between structuration theory and the notion of repertoire:
 - individuals make choices in the actions they take, but these are limited to the repertoires available to them
 - there is variation between individuals in terms of their access to repertoires (resources) and this has consequences for the way they are able to position themselves vis-à-vis others
 - there is an element of agency in both theories in terms of the actions individuals can take to expand their repertoires
 - there is inertia or resistance to adopting novel practice / discourse

- cultural sociology offers an extension to the DA conceptualisation of repertoire, adding to discourse, actions and objects as carriers of symbolic meaning.

While observation of practice was not in the end a feature of the data collection in this study, practitioners nevertheless referred to particular practice and artefacts, such as dual language books, which themselves were symbolic of particular repertoires identified in the discourse data. I considered reference to these to be important elements of the analysis too.

3.3 Key issues emerging from the theoretical framework relevant for this study

Having set out the theories which form the framework for analysis in this study, I discuss in this section how they relate to the research design, are applied to the analysis of data, and the questions which arise from their application here.

Inconsistency between discourse and practice, and between expressed views

Both structuration theory and the theories relating to the concept of repertoire suggest that practitioner talk will contain contradictions, and is not a reliable indicator of practice. What is achievable within a study based on practitioner talk is a mapping of the different repertoires practitioners draw on when discussing bilingual pupils and their home language, and an analysis of the deployment of repertoires in group discussion to achieve certain outcomes within the conversation – in this case adoption or rejection of suggestions for probilingual practice. In the process of analysis of talk, the rules and resources pertaining to the structures within which practitioners operate also become apparent. The concept

of agency within the framework means that while these enablers and constraints of action may be identified, they cannot be regarded as determinants of action.

In addition, pupil accounts of their experience collected as part of this research, provides triangulating evidence with which to compare practitioner perspectives which emerge from the study. Practitioners' reference to specific policy and practice may also relate to phenomena reported in the literature (for example lack of training for teaching bilingual pupils).

At the very least, the study is able to identify practitioners' perspectives of the enablers and constraints of the structure within which they operate, which informs the actions they take.

Constraints and enablers

Different participants will have different access to resources, and authority to challenge rules or say how they are set. Therefore, it is important who is saying what in group discussions. The identification of different constraints and enablers by different participants may also point to the fact they belong to a different 'culture' (see below).

Differences in access to resources / repertoires and the role of the researcher

The repertoires I draw on and introduce in the research are different in nature to these which practitioners use in responding. Theirs reflect daily practical experience, the policies they work to, the knowledge and skills provided through their training and the particular CPD they engage with. The repertoires I draw on and introduce during data collection activities, on the other hand, are primarily constructed from engagement with research, and descriptions of practice in other settings.

This means that the research process creates cognitive dissonance, as participants come to terms with new perspectives through the presentation of research evidence, and as I seek to understand their perspectives. At this point, the understanding that repertoires are mutable is important. It is in the exchanges, particularly in the group discussions, that the limits, and also the extent, of individual repertoires become visible, that practitioners necessarily add to their repertoires through their encounter with novel arguments and evidence, and the degree to which they are willing to take on board and deploy these new perspectives begins to manifest itself.

From the perspective of structuration theory, as researcher, I should be in a position through the analysis to understand the limits of participants' knowledgeability. Given the review of evidence on outcomes for bilingual children in chapter one, this is particularly true in relation to their understanding of the consequences of their actions.

Inertia

Both structuration theory and the concepts of repertoire described here suggest participants will be resistant to novel discourse and suggestions for practice. On the other hand, where the researcher is introducing practitioners to evidence-based approaches, there is a moral purpose in supporting practitioners to understand that practice and the evidence behind it.

Agency

The idea of agency in structuration theory means the analysis should also focus on the choices participants make in challenging or maintaining existing structures.

Agency is also apparent to the degree to which participants embrace the opportunity to extend their repertoires.

Evaluation

A key term in Edley and Wetherell's definition of repertoires is 'evaluation'. Of particular interest in the analysis will be the evaluative terms participants use to characterise use of English and home languages, which help to distinguish the different repertoires. Terms such as 'competent', 'limited', 'appropriate' play an important role, for example, in emphasising the value of speaking English over home language. I pay particular attention to the language of evaluation in the description of themes in section 6.1.

Social systems and the concept of culture

A final, key concept from structuration theory will be important in the analysis. This is Giddens's idea of 'social systems'. In brief, these are the social spheres to which particular structures apply. In the present study, these can be conceived of as the school, the education system, or English society. Giddens indicates the problematic nature of attempting to define social systems:

There are degrees of 'systemness' in societal totalities, as in other less or more inclusive forms of social system. It is essential to avoid the assumption that what a 'society' is can be easily defined. (1984: 283)

Analysis at individual school level provides a more focussed cultural space for exploring the elements of the repertoires practitioners draw on – and a comparison of the way practitioners talk from school to school provides a more certain picture

of local cultures⁵. Nevertheless, the frequency of particular discourses, across a range of settings and localities helps make connections between in-school discourse and that prevalent in the education system and wider society, as summarised in chapters one and two.

3.4 Identifying repertoires in this study

While some consideration is given to the inclusion of artefacts and actions in the definition of repertoire here, it is mostly ‘repertoire’ in the DA sense that is the focus of the analysis. Nevertheless, the identification of ‘interpretative repertoires’ presents a challenge. For an early researcher there is little of a framework to guide the process, rather it is a process of ‘hunches’ and iteratively developing ‘tentative interpretative schemes which may need to be abandoned or revised’ (Wetherell and Potter, 1988: cited in Edley, 2001). Nigel Edley describes the identification of ‘interpretative repertoires as a “craft skill” rather than something that one can master from first principles’ (Edley, 2001, 198). He suggests developing this skill is a matter of practice, and familiarity with one’s data:

As an interviewer, for example, there usually comes a time when one begins to feel as though you’ve heard it all before. People seem to be taking similar lines or making the same kinds of arguments as others previously interviewed. (2001: 198)

In interpreting the data for this study, this was certainly the case: practitioners across settings, for example, gave similar reasons for why probilingual practices

⁵ For the purposes of this study, the OED definition of culture is used: ‘The distinctive ideas, customs, social behaviour, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period. Hence: a society or group characterized by such customs, etc.’ (source: www.oed.com)

were not implemented. Nevertheless, presenting repertoires as a result of this process can lead to a lack of transparency – difficulty in explicating how one came to identify a repertoire. I therefore adopted thematic analysis as the method for identifying lines of arguments within the discourse data, an approach I discuss in detail in sections 5.4 and 6.1).

3.5 Summary

In this chapter I have outlined a theoretical framework which provides some guidance on how practitioner and pupil data generated in this study should be interpreted. Structuration theory clarifies a position whereby practitioners are working within relatively stable structures, but have agency to make choices and bring about change. The concept of repertoire reflects this idea of stable structure and individual choice. DA provides a framework for identifying a range of repertoires which practitioners draw on to characterise and evaluate practice, and draw on these to achieve goals in conversation. This will be the main focus of the analysis for the study, supported by pupil accounts, and quantitative analysis of survey results as an indicator of the acceptability of particular repertoires across a wider number of practitioners. Key issues emerging from the theoretical framework which inform the analysis are:

- Inconsistency between discourse and practice, and between expressed views
- Constraints and enablers
- Differences in access to resources / repertoires

- Inertia
- Agency
- Evaluation
- Social systems

In chapter four I complete the literature review by looking at approaches different studies have taken in exploring practitioner perspectives in relation to bilingual children's use and learning of their home language, in order to inform the design of the current study.

Chapter 4 Approaches to researching bilingual practice and perspectives

4.0 Introduction

Having established in chapter three the theoretical principles on which this study is based, I now review research methodologies and processes from other, related studies, which provide insights into practitioners' perspectives on bilingualism, and consider how they might inform the design for the current study.

The research design for this study underwent two iterations⁶: the first based on a practitioner enquiry, and the second based on group discussions and a survey. The review of a wide range of approaches in this chapter, provides insights into the relative merits and limitations of the various features of both designs in answering the research questions.

4.1 Exploring perspectives on bilingualism in depth

In the introduction, I described the current research on bilingualism in England as pertaining to one of three broad categories:

- A. research which describes practice and experiences in mainstream schools in relation to bilingual pupils as it occurs naturally
- B. research which describes practice and experiences outside of mainstream schools
- C. action research, which introduces innovative bilingual practice into mainstream schools.

While the methodology in category C is action research, approaches to research in categories A and B differ. Broadly speaking, research conducted either consists of

⁶ The reasons for this are set out in section 5.3

ethnographies, which focus on the detail of classroom interaction and include rich pupil data, or they are interview-based studies, relying primarily on teacher report of practice. In this section I describe and illustrate these different approaches: ethnographies, teacher report, and action research, and describe the types of data they have yielded.

Research in category B, as well as some studies carried out in category A, focus on how languages provide a resource for learning, exploring children's experience with and use of multiple languages (for example Creese and Blackledge, 2011b, Conteh, 2007, Robertson, 2007). In the process, these studies provide an understanding of the needs of young bilingual learners, and descriptions of teaching practice, which challenge prevalent assumptions and practices, particularly in mainstream schools.

The focus on children's experiences on the whole entails research designs which are small scale in terms of the numbers of children and schools under study, but which provide rich detail on the interactions among children themselves, and between children and adults.

In their study of separate and flexible bilingualism, Creese and Blackledge (2011b) adopted a linguistic ethnographical approach. The research, carried out in eight complementary schools in England, combined analysis of discourse and context data to explore the social, cultural and linguistic significance of heritage language schools. In addition, the study included an investigation of the range of linguistic practices used in different contexts in those schools, and how those linguistic practices are used by students and teachers to 'negotiate young people's multilingual and multicultural identities'. The analysis of field notes and discourse

data identified two constructions of bilingualism: ‘separate bilingualism’, usually stemming from policies and teachers’ insistence on the use of the heritage language in lessons, and ‘flexible bilingualism’, where, for example, students argued for the use of English or engaged in ‘translanguaging practice’. The resulting conversations were characterised as negotiation of meaning and of identity.

In her ethnography of a Saturday school, Jean Conteh (2007) used a range of data sources to investigate classroom interaction and also gain the perspectives of teachers, pupils and parents. Her analysis of transcriptions of classroom episodes provided empirical evidence for the way English and Punjabi were used by the teacher and pupils to take learning forward, and observation of the video recording of a lesson enabled the author to comment in more detail on the interaction (levels of attention and participation). Finally, teacher commentary on the data emerging from the lesson, provided insights into the planning and delivery of lessons, as well as the principles on which these were based.

Leena Helavaara Robertson (2007) based her description of the experience of five bilingual children learning to read in three different languages on observation as she followed the children in their various classes over a period of two years in key stage one. Along with teacher and parent interview data, the observations enabled her not only to recount the children’s story but to explore teacher practice and underlying assumptions in three settings: mainstream, complementary Urdu, and Quranic classes. The study provided empirical evidence, for example, that mainstream teachers assign bilingual pupils into sets based on their EAL status rather than academic ability, and that inspectors provide endorsement for such discriminatory practice. The longitudinal aspect of the research provided evidence

that even where bilingual children made significant progress, this did not necessarily lead to the children being moved to a higher set, as would be expected. As these three examples of ethnographic studies show, this approach to data collection and analysis can provide not only accounts of teacher practice, but also detail on how pupils experience this practice. In relation to the questions for this study, this type of design has the potential to not only capture practitioner perspectives, but also provide the contextual and observation data which enable greater understanding of ‘practical consciousness’ (and how this differs from ‘discursive consciousness’), ‘unacknowledged conditions of action’, and ‘unintended consequences’ (Giddens, 1986).

Other research in category A focuses more specifically on mainstream teacher practice and perspectives with regard to bilingualism, ie without drawing on pupil data (eg Cable et al., 2004, Wardman, 2013, Rea-Dickins, 2001, Barnard and Burgess, 2000, Abbas, 2002, Connors, 2003). These, and studies from beyond the English context (De Courcy, 2007, Smyth, 2000), also provide interesting insights into how different methodologies can be deployed to provide data relevant to the research questions here.

Barnard and Burgess (2000) reported on a CPD programme designed to help mainstream secondary teachers adopt whole class strategies to meet bilingual pupils’ needs. In order to understand the impact of the programme in detail, the researchers conducted ‘loosely structured’ interviews with twenty-six participants, comprising senior leaders, mainstream teachers, language support teachers, and one special educational needs co-ordinator. The transcripts of the interviews were coded under 67 headings, which were then categorised under eight general headings, for example ‘management matters’, ‘multicultural matters within the

activities of the school' etc. The researchers then graded the comments according to whether the participant was expressing a positive, negative or neutral attitude, or was aware / unaware of the issue. In addition, evidence of three types of English support were noted and coded:

- full equal mainstream partnership between mainstream teachers (MST) and learning support teachers (LST)
- some collaboration in the mainstream between MST & LST
- withdrawal.

The study elicited a number of comments relating to teacher perspectives on bilingual children's use of their home language.

Based on their analysis, Barnard and Burgess, were able to quantify the number of comments in each of the categories, and display degrees of positivity/negativity in each category. Quotes from the interviews were used to provide insights into the underlying reasons for teachers taking a positive or negative attitude and relate this back to the broader political and structural developments in education in relation to bilingual learners.

Reflective writing also formed the basis of De Courcy's study on pre-service teachers' beliefs about bilingual children in Australia (2008). He used a textual analysis of the reflections written by 37 student teachers to illustrate the types of questions they were asking themselves about teaching bilingual children, and the extent to which their preconceptions about bilingual children's needs had been disrupted by their reading of texts on diversity. De Courcy conducted the analysis in two stages – the first was a grounded theory approach to identify themes

emerging to questions about the challenges the student teachers faced with regard to bilingual pupils, and any unanswered questions they still had about teaching bilingual pupils. The second stage was a critical discourse analysis (CDA) which looked more closely at the structure of the text. Citing van Dijk, de Courcy aimed to observe, ‘the more subtle and unintentional manifestations of dominance ... in intonation, lexical or syntactic style, rhetorical figures [and] local semantic structures’ (van Dijk cited in de Courcy, 2007, 193). De Courcy’s CDA identified a theme of what he labelled ‘agent-patient relations’:

a dominant pattern of ascribing agency, so that what teachers do is the sole preoccupation, and further that ESL children are not learning, and are a problem that the teacher has to do something about. (de Courcy, 2007: 196)

He based this on a description of agency by Huckin (1997):

If someone is depicted as an agent, who is it? Who is doing what to whom? Many texts will describe things so that certain persons are consistently depicted as initiating actions (and thus exerting power) while others are depicted as being (often passive) recipients of those actions. (de Courcy, 2007: 195)

Among the examples of the ‘agency’ discursive theme, de Courcy cited the following student teacher phrases:

- ‘teachers have to be sensitive to this.’
- ‘create an inclusive classroom for ESL learners.’

- ‘provide for the students and to make their learning as effective as possible. ‘
- ‘[article] gave many teaching strategies of how to deal with them.’

De Courcy noticed a discourse of problematising bilingual pupils in the student teachers’ writing, using terms such as allowing, difficult, problem, deficit, difference, ESL/Australian and assistance.

The author also analysed student teachers’ lexical choice when talking about bilingual children. He looked at the labels student teachers used for bilingual pupils, ranking them according to whether he felt the terms were positive, neutral or negative. The scale ranged from ‘Children/students who have/with English as a second language’ (as having the most positive connotation, according to the author) to ‘students from a different country’ (having the most negative connotation). The fact that the student teachers were also in new professional territory was revealed by the phrases they used to describe themselves, such as ‘ignorance’, ‘naivete’, ‘assumptions’, ‘did not know’, ‘did not think’, ‘had not thought’. Finally, de Courcy was able to gauge students’ positive reactions to the readings on bilingual pupils, identify authors which had been received particularly well, and could identify probilingual arguments coming through in the student teachers’ own writing and action research projects.

Cable et al (2004) interviewed 12 bilingual teaching assistants (TAs) based on reviews of their lessons which had been captured in video recordings.

Transcriptions of the interviews were analysed in relation to the roles the TAs fulfilled and how they used their first languages to support bilingual pupils. TAs were found to play a key role in facilitating communication between home and

school, and also children's transition into school. The TAs use of their L1 supported the processes, but primarily they were found to be working within and 'buying into a system which puts English first'.

In contrast to the ethnographies described earlier, the primary focus of these studies moves away from classroom interaction to practitioners' perceptions of their role and reflections on practice. The impact of their practice on pupil learning is not an important concern for the research – rather surprisingly in the case of the Barnard and Burgess study, where one might have expected a focus on impact on learners as part of the evaluation of CPD.

Cable et al's study attempted to link practitioner discussion closely with classroom interaction, through use of video observation as a prompt to interview discussion – a feature shared with Conteh's Saturday school study (2007). This approach provides both discourse data and examples of practice which I incorporated in the first iteration of the research design for this study.

The action research carried out by Kenner and colleagues (2008b) (category C in my typology) made a practical link between complementary and mainstream school practice by arranging collaboration between teachers from the different settings to devise bilingual classroom activities. As with the ethnographies reviewed earlier, the research focus is on how pupils experience teacher (and other adult) practice, and, by way of facilitating the professional development element of the project, pupil data is not only collected for analytical purposes, pupils are engaged in the analysis itself. Two groups of children, in total 17, participated in the study, all of whom were attending Bengali lessons in addition to their mainstream curriculum. The activities which the teachers devised and

carried out with the children were video-recorded, and the pupils watched extracts and were invited to say how and why they had used English and Bangla. The research team held seminars with the teachers at the end of each term to analyse children's engagement with the activities and discuss implications for further development. The researchers' analysis of group tasks and whole-class lessons, shed light on:

- children's use of concepts in each language
- how children dealt with translation
- children's cultural understanding
- children's metalinguistic skills
- how children and teachers related to each other as they negotiated approaches to bilingual tasks
- children's use of strategies from Bengali or English class to negotiate the task.

Through pupil data, the researchers also identified a tacit suppression of the use of Bangla in mainstream classrooms, contrasting with children's expressed desire to use both their languages for learning and to maintain their skills in Bengali. The researchers also noticed change in teacher attitude and perspectives, with efforts made to encourage children to learn bilingually.

The approaches to research summarised in this section informed the first iteration of the design for the current study, to the degree that I sought at this stage to:

- to capture practitioner talk in relation bilingual pupils' learning
- encourage participating teachers to try new approaches based on evidence
- support teachers to reflect on their changing practice in the light of pupil data
- gain insights into classroom practice through analysis of video data, pupil reports and/or pupil work.

For a fuller description of the first iteration of the research design see section 4.2.

4.2 Exploring perspectives on bilingualism of a broad sample of teachers and pupils

The second, and implemented, iteration of the research design included a survey and involved 189 practitioner participants. In this section I consider research methodologies which incorporate to similar approaches in the field and the kinds of data and knowledge they generated.

While there are few large scale studies conducted in England which research the issue of bilingualism directly (Andrews, 2009), several national studies which focus on the attainment of ethnic minority pupils, nevertheless provide insights into teacher, pupil and family members' talk about bilingualism. Significant among these is research by Steven Strand and colleagues (2010), which explored in depth factors behind student attainments levels who were of Somali, Bangladeshi and Turkish background. Amongst other data, the team analysed survey responses from 284 heads of inclusion, interviews with members of staff and heads of inclusion, and pupil focus groups in 10 schools across nine local

authorities. While interview and focus group data make reference to bilingualism, these are reported thematically, with no explicit account of how the analysis of these particular data was conducted.

As can be seen from section 4.1 of research methods, there is a strong tradition in England of understanding bilingualism in and out of school contexts. Few English-based studies, however, explore practice or perspectives at breadth.

Andrews review of research commissioned by TDA to ‘identify research that has been undertaken with regard to EAL provision and the teacher workforce, and also to identify gaps in research’ (2009: 5) found, among others, a lack of larger-scale studies and studies with a balance of qualitative and quantitative data.

Research carried out internationally provides indications of how such large scale and mixed methods research could be carried out. The following two studies from beyond the English context suggest alternative approaches to the research of teacher perspectives on bilingualism.

Katya Karathanos (2009) explored the difference ESL training made to mainstream teacher practice in the United States Midwest – specifically, the extent to which teachers promoted bilingual learners’ use of L1 in the classroom. Karathanos’s study consisted of a mixed-method design, comprising a survey of 227 teachers and qualitative analysis of teacher comments in open text boxes on the survey, in addition to analysis of critical reflection journals those teachers on the ESL programme were required to complete as part of their course. The survey included five ‘I’ statements on practice regarding bilingual learners, such as ‘I allow ELL students to use their native languages in my classroom’, as well as two open ended questions concerning specific strategies teachers used with bilingual

learners, and challenges they faced. The analysis enabled Karathanos to identify a considerable difference made by ELL training to teachers' readiness to engage in probilingual practice. In addition, using the text responses and analysis of the reflective journals, she was able to identify specific practice as well as challenges teachers encountered in their provision for bilingual learners.

In Singapore, Viniti Vaish (2012) sought to explore primary teacher beliefs with regard to bilingualism in the context of English as medium of instruction classes. Vaish used a mixed methods approach, consisting of a survey, completed by 96 teachers, lesson observations of five teachers, and interviews with the five teachers and two 'focal' students from each class. During the observation, a video camera was trained on the teacher and a second on the focal students. Vaish used a mixture of belief statements and action statements in the survey to elicit teacher beliefs regarding immersion teaching and probilingual practice, along the lines of:

- 'parents whose first language is not English should speak English at home to help their children learn it as quickly as possible'
- 'I encourage children to speak to each other in their mother tongue in my class'.

Analysis of the quantitative data showed a preference by teachers for an immersion in English approach to teaching their bilingual pupils, a finding which Vaish explained is in line with their training. However, there were contradictions in the findings, such as 95% of teachers reporting that they do not allow children to use the mother tongue in class, despite 75% of them agreeing that it can help in the teaching of English. Further exploration of this contradiction in the quantitative data revealed that the longer service teachers had, the more likely

they were to believe the mother tongue was helpful in learning English. Analysis of the interview data enabled Vaish to explore this further and establish a 5-scale continuum of approaches to language learning from immersion to bilingualism.

4.3 Implications for the design of this study of existing approaches to researching practitioner perspectives

The methods to data collection and analysis described in sections 4.1 and 4.2 offer a range of approaches to identifying and describing teacher perspectives on bilingualism. In this section I consider their potential value in answering the research questions for this study:

1. What are primary teachers' perspectives with regard to the promotion of their bilingual pupils' home languages?
2. To what extent do teachers express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism?
3. To what extent do pupils' experiences of teacher practice align with teacher accounts?
4. How receptive are teachers to messages of additive bilingual practice based on evidence?

The discussion which follows weighs up the value of the different approaches in helping to answer the research questions and point to an optimum design. In the event, practical considerations and difficulties influenced the final decisions taken in the approach to data collection and analysis. These are discussed in chapter four. In this section I consider the potential value of ethnographies and action research in providing both insights into practitioner perspectives, as well as

enabling these to be related to observations of practice and pupil experiences. In terms of this study, action research informed the first iteration of the research design. I then discuss in what ways interviews and surveys could be used to elicit data capable of answering the research questions. These two approaches were incorporated in the second iteration of the research design.

4.3.1 Ethnography

The review of ethnographies in section 4.1 show the capacity of this approach to research for capturing not only teacher (and pupil) discourse on language use, but also for providing a deeper understanding of the underlying dynamics of meaning and identity negotiation which give rise to this discourse. In particular the ethnographies described in section 4.1 shed light on where talk about practice (eg ‘separate bilingualism’) diverged from actual practice (flexible bilingualism), and were able to draw on the rich data to explain why. A similar approach in the case of this research would be of particular value in providing an answer to question 2 and extending the contribution of the study to understanding teacher practice as well as teacher talk with regard to bilingualism.

4.3.2 Action research

Action research of the type carried out by Kenner and colleagues provides opportunities to analyse and validate data at several levels, not to mention make use of the data to benefit of professional and pupil learning (Zeichner, 2003). The approach taken in the studies described in section C offers a means of collecting and processing data which would answer all the research questions for this study. During the course of their action research projects, Kenner and colleagues:

- elicited teacher perspectives on bilingual children's learning (which has potential for this study to addressing question 1 and 2
- collected video data of classroom interaction and involved pupils in its analysis – which would help in addressing question 3
- described how teacher perspectives changed over the course of the project, as teachers engaged with evidence from the classroom and pupil voice activities – an approach which would help address question 4.

Engagement with pupil voice is a particularly strong dimension in Kenner et al's approach, as teacher engagement with evidence of pupil experiences is essential if practice is to change to the benefit of pupils (Rudduck and McIntyre, 2007).

While de Courcy's study was not action research, it did involve an important element of action research: the introduction of teachers to evidence-based practice and elicitation from them of responses to the contents of the readings. The approach is relevant to question 4 of the current study as here too the researcher sought to identify ideas and issues in the readings which challenged participants' 'beliefs about learning and teaching in language and literacy' (de Courcy, 2007: 191). The introduction to teachers of summaries of research on bilingualism (see section 6.4) aligns with de Courcy's approach.

Given the good fit action research provides for the aims of this research, several of its features were incorporated into the first iteration of the design for this study, as described in chapter five. In the event, it proved difficult to encourage the schools I approached to participate in a longer-term project, and so alternative

approaches were developed, which nevertheless maintained an element of teacher engagement with research evidence on bilingualism.

4.3.3 Interviews

In several studies reviewed in this chapter, interviews were employed to elicit teacher discourse data in relation to bilingualism. Such an approach ensured researchers were able to accumulate efficiently data which related to their research focus, and in the case of Barnard and Burgess, lent itself to quantification, and so indicate the strength with which certain views were expressed, for their sample of 26 teachers at least. While providing a means of obtaining data to answer question 2, the drawback with this approach as described in Barnard and Burgess (2000), is that the interviews took place in circumstances where the teacher discourse data was obtained in isolation from day-to-day practice (Connors, 2003, Barnard and Burgess, 2000). This raises a question of the trustworthiness of the data in ways which are not the case for ethnography, where accounts of practice can be triangulated with other data sources (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). This was not the case for Cable et al (2004), where the researchers were more embedded in the schools where they collected data, and used episodes of classroom practice captured on video to stimulate the discussion with the teaching assistants they were working with. As with the action research, the question of access to obtain classroom-based data is a critical one. In the case of Cable and colleagues, access was already assured through a project they were undertaking on behalf of the Open University to develop audio and video study materials. I consider in more depth the implications of using interviews as a technique in chapter 5.

The examples of studies which are based on interview and survey data also show how a framework can be established which enables the researcher to assign a value to the perspectives teachers express. Barnard and Burgess (2000), for example, used coding to identify whether a comment was positive, negative or neutral, and conducted a count to create an overview of areas where negative and positive attitudes were prevalent. The concept of marking discourse as positive or negative is valuable for this study, where the aim is to tag teacher comments as being pro- or counterbilingual: ‘representing additive or subtractive bilingualism’ in question 2.

Karathanos and de Courcy analysed teacher discourse data for emerging themes. Karathanos refined these through several iterations of analysis, while de Courcy conducted a second round of analysis using CDA to focus on what he identified as an ‘agent-patient relations’ discourse in teacher responses to academic readings. Similarly, in this study, I conduct a thematic analysis through several iterations.

Karathanos prompted teacher discourse through two open-ended questions in the survey: one asked teachers to describe their practice, a second to describe the challenges they faced. It was in relation to the latter, plus the teacher learning journals, that the thematic analysis was applied and from which four themes emerged: limited time and resources, issues with peer involvement, presence of multiple native languages, lack of proficiency in the L1 (Karathanos, 2010). In terms of Karathanos’s broad approach to establishing themes to describe teacher discourse in relation to the promotion of bilingual pupils’ home language, there are lessons for the current study. Both explore a relatively underdeveloped focus, and both attempt to scope the extent to which particular beliefs about practice in relation to bilingual children are held. Given a lack of detail in Karathanos’s study

of how she undertook the identification of themes, I draw on Guest et al's overview of thematic analysis (2012) and a study conducted by Joffe and Yardley (2004) to guide my approach, as set out in chapter five.

4.3.4 Surveys

Surveys of the type conducted by Karathanos obviously provide 'an efficient method for systematically collecting data from a broad spectrum of individuals and educational settings' (Check and Schutt, 2011: 160), and offer the potential for the current study to indicate the 'extent' to which teachers express particular perspectives - question 2. In addition, surveys allow a wider reach for participation in the research, helping achieve the research aim of this study to establish how receptive mainstream teachers are to practice which encourages bilingual children to use their home language.

The question then arises, to what extent the findings from the sample of teaching staff participating in the survey in this research can be said to be representative of primary practitioners in England as a whole. Of the studies described in this chapter which incorporated a survey, neither attempted to create a representative sample, but recruited participants who were already participating either in teacher training/CPD (Karathanos, 2010) or learning support programme (Vaish, 2012). In neither was there an explicit attempt to extrapolate the findings to the wider teaching population, and no indication of the total population numbers that the samples were representative of, although it would be possible for figures for the respective jurisdictions to be identified by other means.

In the interests of clarification, it is possible to draw on some principles from inferential statistics to give an indication of the extent to which the findings from

surveys may be said to apply more generally. In order to do this, two factors need to be taken into account: the margin of error, and the alpha level, ie the risk of committing a Type I error (Bartlett et al., 2001). Bartlett et al suggest a margin of error of 3% is acceptable for continuous data, and the following alpha levels, depending on the degrees of confidence required:

- .01 when decisions based on the research are ‘critical’
- .05 acceptable for most research
- .10 when the research is exploratory or the researcher is interested in marginal relationships / differences (Bartlett et al., 2001: 45).

The population for the current study can be set at a minimum 462,000 (National Statistics, 2013), although this figure is rounded up to full-time equivalent, so the head count including part-time staff would be higher. However, with such large population numbers the outcomes of the sample size calculation remain the same: 267 with a confidence level of 95%, or 187 with a confidence level of 90%.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter I have reviewed a range of studies, which in a variety of ways have explored practitioner perspectives in relation to pupils’ bilingualism. Each approach enables different aspects of practitioner perspectives to be understood in different ways, and has implications for the design of this study. In the end circumstances, in particular the question of access to schools, influenced which design would be implemented, and I now discuss this in chapter five.

Chapter 5 Research design

5.0 Introduction

The review of approaches to researching teachers' practice and perspectives in relation to their pupils' bilingualism in chapter four provides a range of possible directions the research design for this current study could go in.

After clarifying the research aims and questions in section 5.1, I set out in section 5.2 the role of the researcher in planning and carrying out the research process.

In section 5.2, I describe the iterations of design the study underwent as I sought to gain school participation.

In section 5.3, I describe the principles of thematic analysis, which guided the analysis of teacher discourse data, followed by a discussion in section 5.4 of how I began this process and identified themes from the discourse data in existing literature which informed the creation of survey and interview instruments.

I then provide in section 5.5, an overview of the staged approach of the implemented design, before describing the approach to sampling, participating organisations, and the various elements of the fieldwork (sections 5.6-5.8)

In section 5.9 I set out the approach to analysis of the data.

Finally, I describe the ethical considerations which informed the design (section 5.11), and set out the limitations of the study (section 5.12).

5.1 Research aims and questions

As is evident from the literature review in chapter one, research into bilingualism provides a wealth of evidence from which to derive principles for a probilingual

curriculum. In addition, reports from a range of settings in England illustrate what such pedagogy can consist of. However, in reality, what evidence there is suggests home language skills atrophy among many children who start their school career bilingual. If English primary schools are to adopt more probilingual practice, school practitioners will need to be receptive to the idea of bilingual education in its broadest sense, and to suggestions to change their practice to one which promotes additive bilingualism. This study aims to describe the level of readiness for probilingual practice more generally in English primary schools by:

- a) providing an overview of primary school practitioners' different perspectives about their bilingual pupils' use of their home language, its relationship to their pupils' learning, and the consequences for practice
- b) shedding light on the extent to which different perspectives are held in English mainstream primary schools
- c) exploring practitioner responses to suggestions to adopt additive bilingual practice.

In order to achieve these aims the following research question was formulated:

- 1) What are primary school practitioners' perspectives with regard to their bilingual pupils' learning and use of their home language?

To guide the detailed exploration of the research aims, the following supplementary research questions were drafted:

- 2) To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism?

- 3) To what extent do pupils' perceptions of teaching staff practice align with practitioner accounts?
- 4) How receptive are practitioners to messages of additive bilingual practice based on evidence?

5.2 The role of the researcher in the research process

In conducting research, the researcher undertakes a responsibility to others who engage with the process and/or are potentially affected by its findings. Questions arise as to:

- whether the focus of the research is significant enough to warrant the use of time (Pring, 2000)
- whether the knowledge accessed is sufficient in addressing the research questions (Pring, 2000, Sikes, 2004)
- how relationships are established and managed (Sikes, 2004, Raheim et al., 2016)
- how the findings are interpreted and communicated. (Pring, 2000, Sikes, 2004, Raheim et al., 2016)

Underlying the whole process is the philosophical position the researcher bases the research on (Sikes, 2004). These considerations fall within the purview of the researcher to address, and I will deal with them one at a time in this section.

From the outset, there should be a clear rationale for undertaking the research, not least given the amount of time it requires of participants. This is particularly the case in respect of education research, where there are many demands on

practitioners' time (Pring, 2000: 150). Of course, the researcher's concerns may not be that of the population the researcher is focussing on, as became apparent in the early attempts at engagement in this study (see section 5.3), but this underlines all the more the need for a clear justification to be established. Pring suggests such justification may consist of: improving practice; establishing a knowledge-base for developing policy; increasing accountability; or solving problems (Pring, 2000: 146).

The rationale for the research having been established, the researcher has a duty to ensure access to or generation of knowledge which enables him or her to address its central focus (Pring, 2000, Sikes, 2004). This aspect of the process is multifaceted. Firstly, there are questions of what constitutes knowledge – is it out there to be discovered, a subjective experience, or is it co-constructed as researcher engages with the researched? (Raheim et al., 2016, Sikes, 2004) Secondly, the knowledge generated can only ever be provisional in nature, with implications for how strongly claims to truth can be based on its findings (Pring, 2000). Thirdly, while the researcher may plan the research agenda, what knowledge they wish to access, and how, participants in the research are also agents, with their own understanding of the research process, relationship with the researcher, and priorities. In their discussions on conducting qualitative research, Raheim et al. point out:

The community being researched is not a passive component; it also has a bearing on what the researcher is included in and excluded from. The informants were also agents in the shaping of the data, the data-collecting opportunities, and the course of the fieldwork. (Goodwin et al., 2003: cited in Raheim et al., 2016)

The quote also highlights the need for the researcher to manage relationships with the researched well, not only to ensure a smooth process, but the quality of the relationship also has an impact on the quality of the data it is possible for the researcher to collect. Sikes, for example, relates examples of problematic interview behaviour which participants may employ to take control of the situation, such as flattery, flirting, shift of topics and even ending cooperation altogether (2004).

The relationship between researcher and researched is a dynamic one, and the researcher is as likely to experience vulnerability in the face of participant response (Raheim et al., 2016), as participants are in the face of the researcher's specialist knowledge. Nevertheless, it is the responsibility of the researcher to consider the likely dynamics of engagement with participants and plan to ensure relationships during encounters remain positive, and that participants do not feel they have been used or manipulated (Sikes, 2004).

Finally, and related to the researcher-participant relationship, is the question of how the data are interpreted, and how the findings of the research are communicated within and beyond the research setting. Pring (2000) suggests that the researcher has a responsibility to check back with participants that the representation of the data is a fair reflection, and to allow them the opportunity to provide an alternative interpretation. Pring also highlights the need for the researcher to be tentative in any claims made on the basis of the findings, noting that truth claims can only ever be provisional.

Pring describes the conflict of principles that come into play as the researcher progresses, in particular the pursuit of knowledge versus a commitment to

confidentiality. The researcher should be aware that the dissemination of findings could be harmful to the individuals who have participated. To minimise the risk of this, he suggests participants:

- be made aware in the kinds of knowledge the research is looking to explore
- are able to renegotiate the terms of the research as it progresses
- are anonymised in the reporting
- have the opportunity to cross-examine the researcher on the various aspects of the research, given ‘the fact that all knowledge is so from a particular point of view’, and so there may be perspectives different to those of the researcher which should be considered (Pring, 2000: 151-152).

The researcher, therefore, has to pay attention to a myriad of considerations when designing the research. In order to navigate their way coherently through the process, Sikes recommends the researcher undertakes serious groundwork to create clarity with regard to their own philosophical position: ‘assumptions concerning social reality, the nature of knowledge, and human nature and agency’ (2004: 14).

In the current study, I have attempted through the literature review in chapters one and two to establish a strong rationale for investigating in depth practitioner discourse in relation to bilingual pupils, not least the potential emotional and educational impact on bilingual children of neglecting home languages. Added to

this are my personal experiences of potentially bilingual adolescents turning down opportunities to develop literacy skills in their home languages due to neglect in school and negative messages in wider society.

The theoretical framework set out in chapter three, based on Giddens's concept of structuration, and the nature of talk, in particular the role played by repertoires in constructing an understanding of the world around us, clarifies the philosophical position taken in this thesis. In many ways, the understanding this theoretical framework provides in relation to the nature of human interaction helps address the concerns of what my relationship is with the researched, such as whether the position I take in group discussions should be considered 'inferior or superior' (Raheim et al., 2016), or whether I am operating as an 'insider' or 'outsider' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). In section 3.3, for example, I discuss the impact on power relations of differences between individuals' ability to access particular resources and repertoires. In terms of the 'insider / outsider' distinction, the researcher by necessity plays the role of outsider no matter how strong their 'determination to minimize the distance and separateness of researcher-participant relationships' (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009 cited in Raheim et al., 2016), because research requires them to understand the context under study within a wider field of research and exploration of theory. In Giddens's terms, the researcher's knowledgeability and reflexivity is of a different nature to that of participants (see section 3.1). This, however, does not necessarily place the researcher in a position of superiority (Sikes, 2004).

As the discussion in this section indicates, the role of the researcher is not unproblematic: a researcher's actions can have a direct, and potentially negative

impact upon those who participate, and beyond. There can be no general rules for conducting research, only principles based on secure philosophical and ethical considerations, and even these may be in conflict with each other. Ultimately, Pring suggests five key principles for carrying out research:

- setting out clearly the kinds of knowledge required
- maintain anonymity as much as possible
- be open to cross-examination
- provide space for the right to reply
- guide the public in the interpretation of the findings.

In addition to these principles, Pring sees the dispositions of researchers as key for ensuring an ethical approach. These include intellectual virtues, such as a concern to find the truth, as well as moral virtues, such as perseverance in the face of difficulties, and humility when the research is criticised. The research design as described below should reflect my attempts to adhere to these principles and develop these dispositions.

5.3 Engaging practitioners in research on bilingualism: implications for research design

The research design for this study underwent two iterations. The first, preferred, iteration was based on practitioner enquiry. This approach offered the opportunity to collect rich data from a number of sources enabling triangulation. While an ethnography would also have produced this outcome, I felt that practitioner enquiry was preferable for several reasons. Firstly, in the form I developed them,

the enquiries could potentially be carried out in several schools, providing breadth to the findings, and allowing commonalities and differences across schools to be identified. As a single researcher, it would have been difficult to secure the time within the data collection period to conduct ethnographic studies across several schools. As it was, my work commitments were such that to spend the blocks of time in a school that an ethnography requires would have been difficult. Secondly, I was attracted to the potential for enquiry to engage a number of practitioners and school leaders with evidence about the role of home languages in bilingual children's learning. Thirdly, practitioner enquiry offered the opportunity to observe practitioners' reaction to evidence over a period of time and to identify changing practice (or not) as they engaged with the evidence base and pupil voice. Unfortunately, engaging schools and practitioners to participate in the research proved to be more difficult than I had at first appreciated. For this reason, I developed a second approach to data collection. This second iteration consisted of survey and discussion group design to collect practitioner perspectives directly, and also to explore pupil perspectives of practitioner discourse and practice. Including a survey in the design had the advantage of engaging a large number of practitioners in the research, reaching a sample size which could be considered large enough to reflect the wider primary teaching community (see section 4.3.4).

Pilot phase – data collection based on practitioner focus groups

In the formative stages of the research, my concern to collect practitioner discourse data led me to consider how I might approach data collection in such a way that encouraged free, practitioner-led discussion on the topic of bilingualism. My approach at that stage was to organise practitioner group discussions,

consisting of activities which were designed to stimulate conversations around the evidence relating to being bilingual and bilingual education, and around models of bilingual education. At this stage, the research questions focussed on identifying and describing primary practitioner discourses around bilingualism and research evidence in this area:

I developed a set of tools with the aim of promoting free, practitioner-led discussion within the focus groups, which consisted of:

- a series of questions for consideration before the discussion, to prompt talk around themes emerging from the literature review on practitioner attitudes to bilingualism
- ten research summaries of studies which were representative of the findings from the literature review, and reported here in chapter one. An example summary is provided in appendix A
- maps of three different models of bilingual education developed in Dade County (USA), Bradford (England), and Auckland (New Zealand). An example map is provided in appendix B.

The focus group was piloted at a Birmingham primary school over two twilight sessions with the four teachers, and yielded 90 minutes of data.

Feedback on the approach to the pilot was that the methodology was appropriate, but left the key question of how teachers' beliefs play out in practice unanswered.

First attempt at data collection based on practitioner enquiry model

In response to the feedback on first pilot, I set about redesigning the research so that it incorporated a professional development element through practitioner enquiry. This seemed feasible as the research for this thesis was developed at a time when there was increasing interest in and encouragement for teachers to engage in and with research in order to develop practice. For example, the General Teaching Council (GTC) had developed its Teaching and Learning Academy (TLA)⁷, based on evidence about effective CPD.

In order to frame the enquiry, I created an outline (appendix C) and enquiry frameworks based on the research summaries created for the original pilot (an example is provided in appendix D).

The model consisted of three meetings: two to introduce the evidence and set up the enquiry, and a third at the end of the enquiry to analyse the outcomes, and consider implications for practice. It was during these meetings I hoped to capture teacher discourse data. The design was longitudinal in nature, allowing time for teachers to implement and evaluate new practice over a period of 6-13 weeks. The practitioner enquiry was also designed to enable practitioners to gain TLA Stage 2 accreditation.

The recruitment strategy included:

- setting up a website especially for the project, which described the aims and process of the project, and provided links to the research summaries and practitioner applications (appendix E)

⁷ The GTC was abolished in 2010 and the TLA has since been run by a consortium of universities and based in Canterbury: www.tla.ac.uk

- drafting leaflets to raise awareness of the project (appendix F)
- informing contacts via work and university
- contacting intermediaries and school leaders directly.

A wide range of school leaders and intermediaries, such as local authority EAL specialists and network leads in the TLA and NALDIC were approached, initially via e-mail, and responses followed up with phone calls and face to face meetings. In addition, hard copies of information were delivered personally to 30 primary schools in my locality.

Through direct contact and intermediary support over 100 school leaders were informed of the project. However, these efforts failed to elicit interest in engaging with the practitioner research project, and so it was necessary for me to reconsider my approach.

Second attempt at data collection based on pupil survey, teacher survey and practitioner enquiry model

Because the original design had not found interest among school leaders, I drafted a new approach based on the following considerations:

- data collection needed to be in a form which school leaders and practitioners would find easy to engage with
- there needed to be a benefit for the school for participating
- the data needed to provide a perspective beyond teacher reports in order to meet the recommendation from the first pilot that there be

some way of relating teachers' perspectives with how pupils experienced teacher practice

- the term 'bilingual' had not appeared to appeal to teachers as an area of interest, and it was likely that reframing the research as exploring the language development of EAL pupils would attract more interest.

The design retained an option for participants to engage in the practitioner enquiry, but given the lack of interest in this style of research to date, I developed a staged approach, which had as its first step a thematic analysis of teacher talk in relation to bilingual pupils' learning which was already available in the literature. This then informed a survey instrument, which provided easier access to the research than the more substantial commitment of an enquiry, and so enabled participation of a large number of participants. As with the Karathanos (2010) study, the questionnaire included free-text boxes for teachers to describe their practice and issues they experience in teaching bilingual pupils.

The inclusion of a parallel pupil survey provided pupil perception data in relation to practitioner perspectives and practice, and therefore data for research question 3, as well as a possible first stage for a school's engagement with the research. My experience on other research projects had been schools' greater willingness to allow pupil participation in surveys. As part of the mix in the second iteration, this seemed to work in gaining access to schools.

The third and fourth elements of the new design were pupil and practitioner interview groups, designed to elicit practitioner discourse data as the basis of a further iteration of the thematic analysis, as well as pupil descriptions of practice.

The enquiry was extended to include an EAL strand as potentially of more interest to primary teachers than the bilingual enquiry already offered to schools. The basis of the EAL practitioner enquiry was an adaptation of the NALDIC key stage one EAL formative descriptors⁸, which broke the descriptors down into themes, eg ‘understanding words in context’, or ‘engaging with whole text’ (see appendix G).

Schools were once again approached to participate in the research, which was presented to school leaders as a menu of data collection activities. A leaflet was developed setting out the options and the benefits of participating (appendix I).

As an additional incentive to participate, a £10 online shopping voucher was awarded to one child in each participating class, selected at random.

The survey questionnaires and group discussion activities were piloted in two primary schools in the West Midlands and some minor changes were made in the light of feedback. During the pilot phase I also developed a school report, providing the outcomes of the research for each school (appendix J), to help leaders and staff reflect on their current practice concerning bilingual pupils’ use and learning of their home language, in relation to the research evidence.

Despite information being sent to schools via e-mail, and, in the case of schools local to me, being delivered by hand, it was still mostly through personal contacts that I was able to recruit schools and practitioners to the research. These included:

- two schools in the West Midlands through my contacts as a school governor

⁸ <http://www.naldic.org.uk/eal-teaching-and-learning/eal-resources/eal-assessment>

- one school in the West Midlands and two schools in London through work colleagues
- one school in the West Midlands responded positively to information about the project delivered by hand
- two schools in West Yorkshire through a personal friend
- a network of EAL coordinators in a London borough through a fellow member of NALDIC
- a cohort of primary Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) students through contacts at Birmingham University.

Different organisations engaged with the research to different degrees. This is described in detail in section 5.7.

Before describing the methodology and methods for this study in detail, I first set out the principles of thematic analysis that form the core approach to analysis.

5.4 Identifying repertoires using a thematic analysis

As the data collected for this study is obtained from a range of sources: discourse reported in existing research, free text in a survey and practitioner group interview data, the approach to analysis needed to be flexible enough to enable read-across across these sources. To this end thematic analysis was selected as providing the best fit for the study for reasons I set out below.

Firstly, thematic analysis is considered an appropriate approach in preparation for quantitative research (Guest et al., 2012), included in the form of a survey in the design. Secondly, it is an iterative approach, allowing for the revision of themes as

more data become available. Thirdly, it provides transparency of the analytic process thus opening the analysis out to verification by third parties. Finally, while typically the data which are the focus of thematic analysis is ‘talk-based’ (Guest et al., 2012), this does not preclude analysis of texts, an important consideration where the study is looking to draw on discourse reported in a wide range of studies. For Guest et al, data subjected to thematic analysis are ‘*the textual representation of a conversation, observation, or interaction*’ (Guest et al., 2012: 51).

What constitutes a ‘theme’ and what a ‘code’ can be somewhat elusive and tends to be defined in metaphorical terms – Braun and Clarke (2006), for example, talk about codes as the ‘bricks and tiles’ and themes as ‘walls and roof panels’. Joffe and Yardley view the terms ‘code’ and ‘theme’ as interchangeable, and my experience of conducting the thematic analysis of the current data set suggests it is difficult to be clear where the identification of codes ends and that of themes begins. This is especially the case where coding is defined as ‘generating pithy labels for important features of the data of relevance to the research question guiding the analysis’ (Clarke and Braun, 2013: 4), as my experience is that themes were generated in the same way. I therefore use the term themes consistently to describe the products of the analysis, and the process of identifying and revising themes as coding.

Joffe and Yardley also indicate how themes may be clustered to create higher order themes, enabling greater abstraction and interpretation. This is important for the current study, where a multiplicity of emerging themes required clustering in order to provide a clearer overview. In the analysis, I identified ten overarching ‘themes’, each consisting of ‘subthemes’ which provide a more refined

understanding of the elements of a particular theme. So, for example, Theme 1: Primacy of English, consists of six subthemes, including ‘English as *the* language’ and ‘insistence on English use’.

While the identification of themes is a matter of interpretation by the analyst – ‘a unit of meaning that is observed (noticed) in the data by a reader of the text’ (Guest et al., 2012: 51), the more detailed identification of codes provide a ‘textual description of the semantic boundaries of a theme or a component of a theme’ and so represent the objective, concrete markers of the theme, the basis of the justification that the theme does in fact exist.

Nevertheless, Joffe and Yardley (2004) suggest it may be possible to identify a theme by inference, as well as directly through the description of codes. They talk of themes being identifiable at ‘manifest’ and ‘latent’ levels. At the manifest level the analyst identifies something ‘directly observable, such as the mention of the term ‘stigma’ in a series of transcripts’, and at the latent level a theme can be implied, for example, ‘by comments about not wanting other people to know about an attack of panic or epilepsy’ (Joffe and Yardley, 2004: 54).

Joffe and Yardley make a further distinction between ‘inductive’ and ‘deductive’ coding, where the former emerges from the primary data itself, and the latter is created based on existing theory and confirmed or altered in the light of the application to primary data. The approach in this study is primarily inductive given the identification of themes across a large number of studies and contexts, is a relatively novel approach in the area of practitioner perspectives on bilingualism. However, as Joffe and Yardley point out, ‘no theme can be entirely inductive or data driven, since the researcher’s knowledge and preconceptions

will inevitably influence the identification of themes' (Joffe and Yardley, 2004: 58). This is bound to be the case given the identification of the principles of effective practice in relation to bilingual learners established in section 1.2 which I relate practitioner talk in the primary data back to. However, while the review of literature in chapter one provides the theory for probilingual education, and evidence for existing practice, there is little in the literature about the reasons teachers give for employing the practices they do in relation to their bilingual pupils. I approached this aspect of the analysis, therefore, with few preconceptions about what to expect in the data.

With regard to theoretical stance, Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest thematic analyses generally cluster into two groups:

- those which are constructionist, identify latent themes and consider specific aspects, and
- those which consider the whole data set, focus on semantic themes and are realist.

They stress, however, that there are no hard and fast rules. For the current study, the whole data set will be included in the analysis, where the discourse is relevant to the aims of the research, as would be expected of exploratory research. I will also primarily focus on semantic themes, providing transparency of theme identification through lexis. With regard to whether the themes reflect a wider reality or are a social construction, I have sought to clarify this through the discussion on structuration and repertoires in chapter three.

For both Guest et al, and Joffe and Yardley, the starting point of the analysis is to identify segments or chunks of text which relate to the phenomenon under study, Guest et al set out the following key questions which guide the process:

- What meaning is conveyed or signified as you read the text? Leading to the identification of themes
- How much of the text is critical to the meaning? Leading to identification of segment boundaries
- What are the specific meaningful elements in the text? Shaping the specification of codes, their definitions, and their logical relationships.

(Guest et al., 2012: 52)

Guest et al suggest this is an iterative process, with later rounds of analysis providing an opportunity to confirm and firm up earlier coding. They warn against overdoing it however:

The danger ... is that the deeper one reads, the less the data can substantiate resulting assertions and interpretations. (Guest et al., 2012: 69)

They suggest treating themes of an interpretative nature (those which belong to Joffe and Yardley's latent level) as a working hypothesis until more substantial evidence emerges.

In this thesis, a thematic analysis was applied iteratively, firstly to teacher discourse reported in the literature, during which an initial coding frame was created. This informed the items in the teacher survey. The coding frame was further refined through analysis of free text data, and in a third iteration through

analysis of discourse data from teacher group interviews. I describe in more detail the approach to thematic analysis in this research in section 6.1.

As discussed in section 3.4, the rationale for employing thematic analysis was to provide a transparent method for identifying repertoires. The ‘themes’, once established through the thematic analysis, become the repertoires I refer to in the analysis of practitioner talk in the discussion groups. In this thesis, the term ‘theme’ is used all the time I refer to the process of establishing what the repertoires are that practitioners draw on (up to and including section 6.1). I then use the term ‘repertoire’, in the sense that it is defined in section 3.2, when describing practitioner talk in action in the group discussions (analysis at individual school level and in the discussion, section 6.3 onwards).

5.5 Analysis of practitioner discourse data in existing research reports

The first iteration of the thematic analysis was conducted on data of practitioner talk from existing research. The studies included for this phase:

- Were England-based, except for one study which was Scotland-based, included for the wealth of relevant teacher talk it contained
- Included perspectives from both secondary and primary practitioners, in order to secure a critical mass of data for the initial round of analysis.

In all, practitioner discourse data was extracted from ten studies for this stage of the research (Appendix L). I firstly identified themes based on an instinctive understanding of what the practitioners were saying. I then grouped talk from

different studies which seemed to cluster around the same theme, and sought to establish the words and phrases which characterized the theme. Sometimes the themes could be confirmed with defined lexis, sometimes they required revising and redefining. During this process, I also sought to bound the text included under the theme into the essential segments of meaning, as suggested by Guest et al (2012). In practice, this meant drafting and redrafting the full definitions of each theme. This provided a series of instances of practitioner talk for each theme, with key lexis for that theme highlighted. In several cases, subthemes were created to provide a finer grained description of practitioner talk. Similarly, some themes were clustered and an overarching theme established. A final codebook (appendix M) was created based on three iterations of this process. A detailed description of the approach to thematic analysis in this study is set out in section 6.1.

5.6 Overview of research design

The research design was iterative so that initial data could be collected to identify the themes on which practitioner and pupil data collection instruments were based. The first stage of the research was the identification of practitioner data which related to the aims of the research already available in existing literature. These data were subjected to a thematic analysis, from which seven overarching themes were derived. The themes were tagged as pro- or counterbilingual based on an analysis of the discourse against research evidence presented in chapters one and two:

Probilingual

- Home language use and learning as beneficial

- Accepting responsibility

Counterbilingual

- Primacy of English
- Locating responsibility away
- EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive
- School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous
- Home language use as subversive.

Example discourse items representing these themes were then drafted as statements for a survey questionnaire and prompts for group discussions. Practitioner and pupil surveys and group discussion activities were created, to elicit practitioner perspectives directly and pupil perceptions of practitioner practice and views. Also included in the practitioner group discussion design were the 10 enquiry frameworks from the first attempt at data collection, in order to engage participants with research evidence on bilingualism and record their responses to this. Data collection took place over the course of eight months. A total of 12 participating organisations engaged with the research in a variety of ways, with only four schools engaging in all four data collection activities (practitioner survey and group discussion, pupil survey and group discussion - see section 5.8). While I requested schools complete surveys before school visits, to provide themes which could be pursued in the group discussions, this was not always possible. Analysis at individual school level tended to happen therefore once all data was collected.

Following the initial thematic analysis of practitioner discourse data in the existing literature, the analysis took place at two levels: at an overview level, including quantitative and qualitative data from all participants, and at individual school level for the four schools which fully engaged in data collection activities, and of practitioner discussion group data at a fifth school.

5.7 Sampling

The phase I focussed on in preparing the research is primary education, and specifically Key Stage 1 (KS1). One reason for this is that entry into primary school is a critical period for children who do not have English as their first language. It can be their first experience of attitudes towards their home language in wider society, which in turn can be highly influential on their own concepts of identity and self-esteem (see section 1.2.4). In addition, it is a critical period academically, as many children begin the process of learning to read and write in earnest. The consequences of ignoring a child's home language in this process are also described in section 1.2.

The implication of this consideration for sampling is that ideally the practitioner sample would consist of KS1 teaching staff. In practical terms, trying to achieve this would have further limited the potential for recruiting participants in a situation where access to teachers was already quite difficult (see section 5.2). In addition, primary teachers frequently move from teaching one year group to another, and in any case, if they are a specialist, such as music teacher, they will be used to working with children across year groups. For these reasons, the research was open for participation for any member of the teaching staff in participating primary schools, including teaching assistants and school leaders.

Sampling for the pupil population required a further consideration: the need for bilingual participants to understand the questions in the survey, and to be able to engage effectively in group discussions. To draw the sample from children in Years 1 and 2, therefore, risked not getting the voices of precisely those children who did not have English as their first language, because of the varying levels of English language competence bilingual children in this phase would have. For this reason, I decided to invite pupils in Years 5 and 6 to participate in the research, where I could be more certain bilingual pupils could fully participate. In order to ensure I was collecting data relevant to KS1, I formulated the survey questions so that the participating children would be encouraged to think back to their experiences in reception and Years 1 and 2.

Once schools agreed to participate in the pupil surveys, I arranged for whole classes to be involved in the completion of the questionnaires, and so both monolingual and bilingual pupils completed the survey.

In order to maintain a range of perspectives, schools were requested to identify a mixture of bilingual and monolingual English speakers for the group discussions (three of each).

5.8 Participating organisations

A total of 12 organisations participated in the research:

- three London primary schools
- five West Midlands primary schools
- two West Yorkshire primary schools

- a London local authority
- the PGCE department of a West Midlands university.

The local authority involvement consisted of a 30-minute slot at a continuing professional development session for local EAL co-ordinators. During the session, the co-ordinators completed a paper version of the survey questionnaire.

The participation of the PGCE students in completing the survey was secured through the offer of introducing them to the support and resources they could access from the NALDIC website, and raising their awareness of issues around bilingualism.

All participating schools were in urban settings, except two which could be described as in suburban areas. Other characteristics as described on school websites or in latest available Ofsted reports are indicated in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 – Characteristics of participating schools

School	Total pupils	KS1	KS2	Above national average EAL	Above national average BME*	Above national average PP**
London school 1	343		✓	✓	✓	✓
London school 2	700	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
London school 3	578	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
West Midlands school 1	260	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
West Midlands school 2	388	✓	✓			✓
West Midlands school 3	324	✓	✓			✓
West Midlands school 4	497	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
West Midlands school 5	279	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
West Yorkshire school 1	402	✓	✓		✓	
West Yorkshire school 2	186	✓	✓		✓	✓

* Black and Minority Ethnic pupils

** Pupils receiving pupil premium

As organisations were offered the opportunity to engage with the research to whatever degree they felt able to accommodate, the data collection took place in a non-uniform way. Table 5.2 shows in what ways the various organisations participated in the study. Participation in a particular activity is indicated by the number of participants taking part.

Table 5.2 – Participating organisations

Organisation	Teacher survey	Teacher group discussion	Pupil survey	Pupil group discussion
London school 1	8	3	16	6
London school 2	22	-	30	-
London school 3	18	-	30	-
London LA (EAL co-ordinators)	14	-	-	-
West Midlands school 1	18	4	64	6
West Midlands school 2	10	6	34	6
West Midlands school 3	12	-	48	6
West Midlands school 4	10	-	-	-
West Midlands school 5	1	-	-	-
West Midlands university	67	-	-	-
West Yorkshire school 1	9	5	108	6
West Yorkshire school 2	-	3	45	6
Total participants	189***	21	375***	36

*** Number of practitioners/pupils who began the survey, not all questions were completed by all participants

More detailed descriptions of the four schools which were subject to analysis at individual school level are provided in section 6.3.

5.9 Research methods

5.9.1 Practitioner survey

The practitioner survey was primarily based on the themes emerging from the first iteration of the thematic analysis (see section 6.1).

The themes were represented by action and one belief statements, for which participants were invited to state their level of agreement on a 4-point Likert-style scale. Action statements required teachers to state what they actually do, eg ‘I tell my bilingual pupils it’s best to speak English at home as much as they can, and not their home language’, and the belief statement was: ‘Helping children learn their home language would be too much work.’

The rationale for creating action statements was to encourage participants to think of concrete examples was to focus participants’ ‘discursive consciousness’ (Giddens, 1984: 7) as much on practice as possible, rather than generally held beliefs or attitudes.

For the belief statement, participants were required to state if they agreed or disagreed, strongly or slightly with the statement. The responses to action statements were drafted to take into account a participant’s attitude to practice in cases where it was not currently a part of their repertoire, and so were worded accordingly: ‘I do this’, ‘I am inclined to do this’, ‘I am not inclined to do this’, ‘I don’t do this’. This range was considered to be preferable to gradations of frequency (eg I do this often), the approach taken by Karathanos (2010), as frequency adverbs are open to varying interpretation. In addition, the phrasing allowed for the fact that the actions in the statements could be subject to opportunity than a matter of regular practice. Nevertheless, the wording for the

response finally settled on is not unproblematic, and this is discussed in more detail in section 5.1.1, limitations.

The derivation of statements reflecting the themes identified in the initial thematic analysis are based on teacher statements in the existing literature, but do not represent an exact science. It had been my intention to take a teacher quote representative of the theme from the data available in the literature. This did not prove to be so straight forward. The quotes were too detailed, too context-dependent and contained too many deictic features, for them to stand alone as survey statements. This typical example from the ‘primacy of English’ theme illustrates the point:

‘... his language has definitely improved but mother doesn’t speak to him in English, she uses Punjabi all the time and daddy’s never in ‘cos he’s always at the shop so he’s not getting that great input from home so anything, any English he is learning is probably from the other kids and from here isn’t it?’ (Smyth, 2000)

Where straight quotes did seem appropriate to insert directly into the teacher survey, a further consideration was how accessible their meaning would be to the pupils in their survey. An acceptable statement could have been created, for example, by substituting the word ‘Urdu’ with ‘home language’ in the following quote.

It is OK if they learn their community language, but what these kids need is more practice in English and not in Urdu

However, my slight concern here was the complexity of the statement for the pupils. In the end, I created survey statements as closely as possible to the quotes,

but with a greater or lesser degree of adaptation. For the ‘primacy of English’ theme, for example, I adapted:

“I talked to his father at parents’ night and I asked him how much English was spoken at home because mother seems to speak Urdu all the time and he said not very much and I suggested that perhaps although he’s out working a lot I suggested that perhaps he spoke a lot more English in the house and he said that quite often he’d say something to N in English and he would look as if he didn’t understand so he would repeat it in Urdu which I said was fine you know as long as he gets the English input.”

to the questionnaire statement:

I tell my bilingual pupils it’s best to speak English at home as much as they can and not their home language

The themes identified in the initial thematic analysis were represented by the statements in table 5.3. I also indicate here the tagging of the themes as probilingual or counterbilingual, as described in section 6.1.3.

Table 5.3: Statements in the survey representing themes identified in the literature review

Theme	Statement
1. Primacy of English (counterbilingual)	I tell my bilingual pupils it's best to speak English at home as much as they can and not their home language
2. Home language use and learning as beneficial (probinglingual)	I encourage children to use their home language when they need to, as it helps I tell my pupils they should be reading books in their home language as well as in English I design activities which focus on the different languages children in the class speak
4. Locating responsibility (probinglingual)	Our school is very good at supporting children who speak languages other than English
5. EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive (counterbilingual)	You need specialist teachers to teach children with languages other than English
6. School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous (counterbilingual)	Helping children learn their home language would just be too much work
7. L1 use and development as subversive (counterbilingual)	I tell my pupils to speak English in class as it's rude to speak their home language when others don't understand

My aim in drafting the survey was to balance statements representing probinglingual and counterbilingual practices, which I achieved through two additional statements for the 'home language use and learning as beneficial' theme.

In order to allow teachers to express their thoughts freely, and to generate additional discourse data, I included a free text box at the end of the questionnaire, along the same lines as Karathanos in her study (2010), which prompted participants to ‘make any comments about provision for EAL/bilingual pupils, dynamics in the classroom, strategies you use etc.’

5.9.2 Practitioner group discussions

Failing to secure participation in the practitioner enquiry strand of the research, I organised practitioner group discussions as the key means of obtaining practitioner discourse data. It was an opportunity to test the degree to which the themes identified in the literature review were reflected more widely in practitioner discourse, and to complement those findings with a more detailed exploration of practitioner perspectives in relation to bilingualism.

There are, however, several limitations to the use of group discussions in terms of the effect participants have on each other in terms of these events

When considering approaches to face-to-face data collection, group discussions were preferred to one-to-one interviews, on the grounds that group discussions allow more opportunity for participants to pursue their own lines of interest, and so reveal to fuller extent the repertoires they draw on, than would a strictly interviewer-led agenda. The advantages of this approach align not only with the theoretical framework underlying the thesis, they are cited elsewhere as providing participants with the opportunity to re-evaluate and reconsider their understanding of their own experiences, and with the sense of empowerment that being treated as an expert in a particular area brings (Gibbs, 1997).

In terms of the dynamics of focus group interaction, Robson (2002) identifies several ways participants benefit from the presence of others, including the fact that a participant may be stimulated by what others in the group say, as well as drawing on others for support when broaching a difficult topic.

Being invited to talk about a particular topic in front of colleagues may also have the opposite effect, making a participant feel inhibited about what they can say.

Gibbs (1997) points out that one of the disadvantages of focus groups is that they can be intimidating for some members. She cites shyness and inarticulateness as potential underlying causes for this. In the current study, it may be power relations within the settings themselves which mean that practitioners are willing to vocalise some views and not others depending on who is present. Indeed, given the theoretical discussion on the social nature of repertoires, one would expect the composition of any particular group to have an impact on the repertoires drawn upon during the conversation. The presence of the head teacher, for example, may make teachers particularly wary about how they are representing the school in front of an outsider.

The group discussions were therefore designed to maximise the opportunities for mutual support and stimulation of thoughts, and minimise the risk of domination of the conversation by one or two people (Robson, 2002). To this end, I arranged for participants to discuss prompts and enquiry frameworks in pairs, before bringing them together for a whole group discussion.

Teacher group discussions were scheduled for 30 minutes and consisted of two activities. In the first practitioners discussed the statements from the survey

questionnaire and were asked to select one they agreed with, one which they disagreed with and one which they were most uncertain about.

The statements for the group discussions were the same as those for the survey (see table 5.3). An additional statement not present in the survey questionnaire was added to the group discussion to explore a key issue arising from the literature review: whether some home languages were valued more than others:

‘It is more important for children to learn mainstream foreign languages like French or Spanish than community languages like Panjabi or Polish.’

In the second activity, each pair was given 4-5 enquiry frameworks and were asked to prioritise them according to their value for their school. The ensuing plenary discussion elicited reactions to the research evidence and the suggestions for developing practice in relation to the evidence, providing data to answer question 4. In all there were ten enquiry frameworks, which were all offered for discussion at some point across the group discussion meetings. They covered the following themes:

- How can learning their home language help bilingual children learn English?
- What are the opportunities for developing a bilingual curriculum for our pupils?
- What value does hand gesturing add to bilingual children’s learning?
- How confident are we and our bilingual pupils about their success in developing their English skills?

- What can bilingual learners now at secondary tell us about their primary experience?
- How can we increase literacy activity among our learners?
- Do we challenge bilingual learners in the same way as our monolingual learners?
- How can we get a better understanding of our learners' vocabulary in both English and their home language?
- What are our bilingual and monolingual learners' starting points in thinking skills?
- Where do bilingual children need particular support in developing literacy skills?

5.9.3 Pupil survey

The pupil survey was designed to provide an insight into teacher perspectives and practice beyond the self-report of teachers themselves. The items in the pupil questionnaire reproduced the statements of the teacher survey, based on the themes emerging from the initial thematic analysis (section 6.1). Pupils were instructed to think back to their teachers in KS1 and consider what they believed their teachers thought about bilingual children's home languages. The statements were then presented as items of spoken discourse for all items, of the type: 'It's best to speak English at home as much as you can, and not your home language.' Pupils were then asked to select one of four options: 'I'm sure my KS1 teachers would have said this', 'I think my KS1 teachers would have said this', 'I think my

KS1 teachers would have said this', 'I'm sure my KS1 teachers would not have said this'.

As with the teacher survey, pupils had the option to complete free text boxes at the end of the questionnaire.

Before asking pupils to complete the questionnaire, the researcher or designated teacher explained the purpose of the survey, clarified the term 'home language' by asking pupils to provide examples, and asked pupils to say who their teachers were in KS1 so that they had particular teachers in mind when completing the survey.

5.9.4 Pupil group discussions

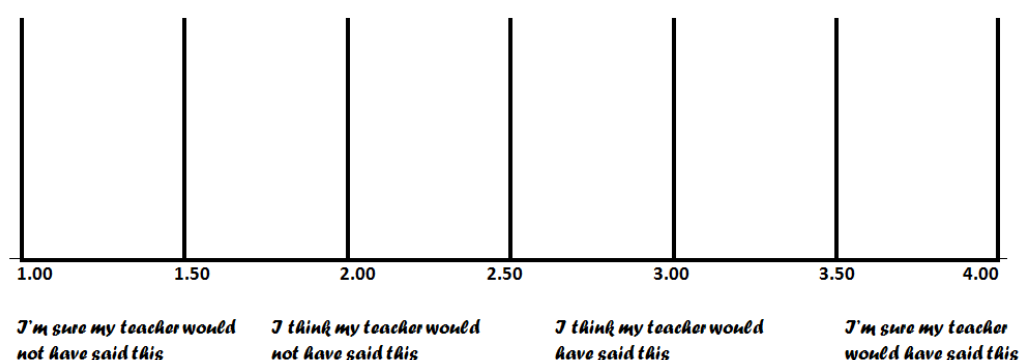
All except two schools who participated in the pupil survey also arranged pupil group discussions. The two exceptions were two London schools, whose agreement to participate in the research came too late in the term for group discussions to take place, which coincided with the cut-off date for the data collection.

Schools participating in the pupil group discussions were requested to identify pupils from a range of backgrounds, to ensure there was a mix according to current academic performance, language backgrounds, and of boys and girls. The groups were formed of six pupils, and included three bilingual and three monolingual children. The group was then divided into two groups of three: two bilingual and one monolingual children in one group, and one bilingual and two monolingual children in the other.

The groups completed two activities, designed to generate discussion around their teachers' and their own views about bilingualism.

The first activity was a competition to see which group could guess the closest estimates to the outcomes of the pupil survey. The children were each given a statement from the survey, which they read out one at a time. Each team was then asked to place a pin on a chart to indicate what they thought the outcome of the pupil survey had been: to what extent pupils in the school had thought their teachers would have agreed with the statement (figure 5.1).

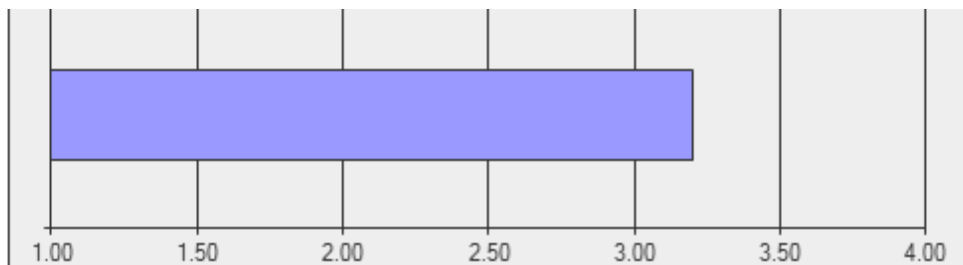
Figure 5.1: chart used by pupils to indicate their guess at survey outcome



The responses to the survey statement were weighted: '1' for 'I'm sure my KS1 teacher would not have said this'; '2' for 'I think my KS1 teacher would not have said this' etc, and then the average for all the responses calculated to produce a figure between 1 and 4. Once the children had selected their guess, the researcher held a graphic of the outcome (figure 5.2), and awarded the team which was closest to the outcome a point. Pupils were then asked why they had guessed a particular outcome to prompt discussion around the statement.

Figure 5.2: graphic of a survey outcome for one statement

'speak in your home language when you need to, it helps'



5.10 Approach to analysis

I attempted to follow Guest et al's guidance on thematic analysis as closely as possible (see section 5.4). I placed particular effort on identifying the 'meaningful elements' of each code, aiming to capture the lexical items which constituted the code. These are listed in the key words / phrases column of the coding frame (appendix M). The iterative process of the thematic analysis (practitioner talk from existing literature > free text entries > group discussion data) provided an opportunity to observe the prevalence of key words in a theme, and so increase confidence in their reliability as a marker for that theme. For example, teachers referred to 'English as *the* language' in five instances from the literature, and twice in group discussions, supporting the coding of this term under the Primacy of English theme.

However, the process of isolating lexical items was not straight forward, not least because of the loss of meaning in several cases once they were abstracted from context. For this reason, where I felt a key word or phrase needed clarification, I added text from the utterance in parentheses – eg (parents are) limited

linguistically. Alternatively, I paraphrased meaning myself in squared brackets, to extend the applicability of the phrase to include alternative words with the same meaning. For example, the key phrase [parent] fails to [understand], was formulated from the instance ‘If mothers fail to grasp what we are saying’,

The analysis of practitioner talk included an assessment of whether expressed attitudes and actions were probilingual or counter-bilingual according to the research evidence outlined in chapters one and two, and themes were classified accordingly.

The analysis of the quantitative data assessed the extent of participants’ readiness to support additive bilingualism by considering the degree of agreement with three probilingual and three counterbilingual statements. Comparisons were made between practitioner and pupil survey data, and between early career (0-5 years) and more experienced colleagues, and between practitioners in early years and KS1 versus those in KS2.

Analysis at individual school level was carried out for four of the participating schools, and involved consideration of all data sources: pupil and practitioner survey data (quantitative and free text entries, and pupil and practitioner group discussion data). Practitioner and pupil accounts were scrutinised to gain some understanding of school culture and links were made with structuration theory.

Finally, an in-depth analysis of practitioner use of repertoires was undertaken for WY2 to promote and deflect suggestions for probilingual practice.

5.11 Ethical considerations

5.11.1 School leaders and practitioners

In designing and carrying out the research I referred in the first instance to the BERA ethical guidelines for educational research (BERA, 2011). The request to participate in every instance of individual school involvement was made to the head teacher, and the following points clarified in an ‘information for schools’ leaflet, which each school received (see appendix K):

- the purpose of the research
- what the school would gain by participating (individual report detailing the outcomes for the school, opportunity to reflect on current practice with regard to EAL pupils)
- the research process
- assurance that data would be anonymised and stored securely, and that participating teachers may have access to their data at any time during or after the research
- assurance that participants would be informed of the aims of the research and how data would be used
- clarification of the right to withdraw by any individual at any time
- information about the researcher.

The purpose, the voluntary nature of participation and assurance of confidential handling of the data were repeated at the beginning of each survey and discussion group session.

A prime consideration for the collection and processing of data provided by practitioners was that they should not feel or in fact be compromised by describing their practice in written or verbal form. On the one hand, the risk was relatively low that practitioners would describe practice or opinions that could be viewed as problematic by fellow practitioners, because this would be practice and opinions that others in the school experienced on a daily basis (for example through conversations in the staffroom, presence in the classroom, observations etc).

Data collection activity needed to tread a delicate path between eliciting practitioner talk relating to these day-to-day practices and opinions, as teachers habitually performed and expressed them, while at the same time mitigating any negative impact of the fact that as the researcher I was aware of evidence by which I would evaluate teachers' responses. I attempted to achieve a fair balance by making the research evidence freely accessible to participants in the form of the summaries uploaded onto the website. In addition, I organised and managed the group discussions in such a way that practitioners had access to the evidence via the practitioner applications, and also had the opportunity to discuss in pairs before expressing views in plenary. This for me as a researcher was the difficult line to tread, as the research does constitute a critique of how we do schooling in this country, which has such a detrimental impact on the language skills children bring to school with them. However, my view is that the responsibility is a collective one. From a moral perspective, this research aims to influence and work

with teachers to develop a common understanding of best ways forward based on evidence.

Participating practitioners were of course thanked for giving time to the research, but my intention in the design of the data collection and production of resources was to make the process informative and useful to participants. All the resources I created for the research I made freely available to participating practitioners in hard copy form and via the Primary Bilingual website.

I made a commitment to participants that their data would be anonymised in the reporting. I have maintained anonymity by substituting with pseudonyms any proper names, such as the names of teachers, schools etc, which were mentioned in the reported conversations, and participants are each given a code in the reporting.

5.11.2 Pupil voice

With regard to pupil participation, BERA guidelines stipulate that at all times in the research process the best interests of the child are the primary consideration (BERA, 2011: 6). I aimed to achieve this by ensuring the pupil data collection activities were engaging, enjoyable and informative, that participating children were informed about the purpose of the research, and assured their data would be kept confidential. I also had Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) clearance at the time of the data collection visits to schools.

To ensure all aspects of the pupil based research complied with ethical standards, I followed the more detailed guiding principles set out by MacBeath and colleagues in *Consulting pupils: A toolkit for teachers* (MacBeath et al., 2003: 9).

These are set out below with a commentary on how the principles were applied in the research.

The desire to hear what young people have to say is genuine

The survey items and group discussions reflected important aspects of practice according to research, and responses to them were a key element in the analysis. The inclusion of pupils' own views in the analysis provide an indication of the extent to which school children adopt similar perspectives to their teachers.

The topic is not trivial

Research suggests that the degree to which primary schools and practitioners recognise and promote the learning of a bilingual child's L1 has an impact on the child's language and academic progression.

The purpose of the consultation is explained to the pupils involved

The purpose of the research was explained to pupils verbally before both the survey and group discussions. The survey questionnaire also included an introduction which explained the purpose of the research.

Young people will know what will happen to what they say

The introduction to the survey informed pupils that their responses would help the researcher find out more about:

- the language or languages they speak
- how their teachers helped them learn language
- their ideas for how schools can better support language learning.

Young people are confident that expressing a sincerely held opinion, or describing a feeling or an experience, will not disadvantage them

Pupils responding to the survey were assured that only the researcher would be able to see who provided what response. Pupils participating in the discussion groups were also informed at the beginning that their comments would be reported anonymously.

Feedback is offered to those who have been consulted

The group discussion centred around the aggregated answers the class provided in the questionnaire, and so pupils had the opportunity to become familiar with the outcomes of the survey. A school report of the outcomes for their school were sent to the head teacher.

When actions are taken and decisions made, young people are able to understand the wider context in which their views are to be placed.

I am not aware of actions or decisions were taken as a result of the feedback given to schools.

5.12 Limitations of the research

In spite of the efforts made to create a design which would reliably capture and report practitioner discourse in relation to bilingual pupils' use and learning of home languages, several limitations are implicit in the design, and I describe these below.

The fact that I had derived themes from the review of the literature, meant that I brought them with me to the analysis of practitioner data from participating schools and naturally assigned utterances to them which fit. The repertoires

identified for this study are inevitably influenced by my subjective judgement (Wooffitt, 2005) and may be configured differently.

What's more, participants' engagement with established themes through the survey questionnaire and group discussion tools led to the elicitation of such talk in subsequent conversations. From a positivist perspective this will have had an impact on the trustworthiness of the outcomes, the participants having been influenced by the research process (Robson, 2004: 105). This is undoubtedly the case. However, the emergence of three novel themes from the school-based data which had not appeared in the data from the literature, and the relatively low number of instances of talk for themes which were identified in the literature, show that the discourse in the free text boxes and discussion groups was to a certain extent independent of that reflected in the prompt instruments.

What

Basing the identification of themes on lexis also has its limitations. It meant some themes were not identified, which would have been, using other approaches. For example, in the following exchange, taken from the group discussion at L1, T1 clearly 'takes on responsibility', by challenging T2 in her assertion that teachers cannot force bilingual children to read in their home language:

T2 There's that thing of 'oh you have to read' and if they don't
 want to then it's sort of going to

T1 But you ask them to read in English

The practitioner survey has also been difficult to design, and may also be open to criticism. Participants were given the option to answer the following five items

with the response ‘I do this’, ‘I am inclined to do this’, ‘I’m not inclined to do this’, ‘I don’t do this’:

1. I tell my bilingual pupils it’s best to speak English at home as much as they can, and not their home language
2. I tell my pupils they should be reading books in their home language as well as English
3. I tell my pupils to speak English in class as it’s rude to speak their home language when others don’t understand
6. I encourage children to use their home language when they need to, as it helps
7. I design activities which focus on the different languages children in the class speak

‘I do this’ and ‘I don’t do this’ are binary. The attempt at gradation ‘I am inclined to do this’, ‘I am not inclined to do this’ fails to the extent that both imply that the participant does not do this, and so under certain interpretation the participant could tick two boxes without contradiction – they are not mutually exclusive.

On reflection, the substitution of a three-item scale may have been preferable:

- I do this
- I don’t do this, but I am inclined to do it (or, think it is a good idea)
- I don’t do this, and I am not inclined to do it (or, do not think it is a good idea).

This alternative scale has the benefit of creating clarity of practice and attitude. Nevertheless, the options as originally formulated provide a symmetry of positive and negative responses, and for the purposes of the current study, the analysis of the responses to these five questions takes on face value that the responses ‘I do this’, ‘I am inclined to do this’ represent a positive attitude towards the practice, and ‘I am not inclined to do this’, ‘I don’t do this’ represent a negative attitude to the practice.

The areas explored in the analysis at individual school level were selected on the basis of discrepancies between practitioner and pupil survey responses. This is not to say that where survey data between practitioners and pupils more or less correlated were not worthy of further investigation. It was, however, necessary to set parameters to the analysis, and limiting this to areas of difference led to a certain clarification of practice behind the statistical data.

There is no doubt the study would benefit from classroom-based data, not least to understand how practitioners rationalise practice through ‘practical consciousness’ (Giddens, 1986). To the extent the structures within which practitioners operate could only be extrapolated from practitioner and pupil accounts, the picture emerging could only represent an approximation of these.

5.13 Summary

In chapter five, I have set out the aims of the research, clarified research questions and described the approach to data collection and analysis to answer these. A key issue in the research design has been the question of engaging practitioner participation. The changes made to the initial design had the impact of achieving this, but at a cost of not being able to collect classroom-based data, and

practitioner discourse data over time. Nevertheless, the data I was able to collect using a revised design were still sufficient to provide answers to the research questions. I now describe the analysis of these data in chapter six.

Chapter 6 Results of data analysis

6.0 Introduction

The analysis begins with an overview of outcomes at a global level - themes emerging from across the practitioner discourse data, and practitioner and pupil responses from the survey – and moves on to an analysis at the level of individual schools. This provides an indication of the range of practitioner perspectives in relation to home language use and learning and the extent to which they are held more generally, as well as examples of how these perspectives play out in particular primary settings.

The first section of the chapter: *Thematic analysis of practitioner data* describes the findings from the three iterations of the thematic analysis: the first iteration was based on data identified in existing literature, which then informed the survey items. The second iteration was based on data from the free text in the practitioner survey, and the third on data from the practitioner group discussions. This staged approach had the benefit of providing preliminary results on which the survey items could be based, and also framing a process for handling such a large amount of qualitative data. In this way, section 6.1 addresses the first research question:

What are primary school practitioners' perspectives with regard to their bilingual pupils' learning and use of their home language? In sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.5, I relate the emerging themes to the evidence about practices discussed in chapters one and two, in order to assess the extent to which different teacher discourses can be labelled as probilingual or counterbilingual and to provide the framework with which the second research question can be addressed: *To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive*

bilingualism? I also consider the concept of ‘prevalence’ of discourse by discussing the number of instances there are for each theme within the data set, as well as the spread of themes across data sources.

The second section of the chapter presents the quantitative results from the practitioner and pupil surveys. These indicate the degree to which the 189 participating practitioners agreed with or claimed to engage in six practice and belief statements based on themes emerging from the first iteration of the thematic analysis, labelled as either pro- or counterbilingual in section 6.1.3. I also look at the survey outcomes for different groups of practitioners to explore whether stage of career, the key stage, or job role were likely to have an impact on their responses. In section 6.2, I also compare practitioner responses with the perceptions of the 386 pupils who took part in the quantitative stage of the research. This establishes an additional measure by which practitioner responses can be gauged, ie do pupils perceive practitioners to be more, less or as probilingual as practitioners report themselves to be? Section 6.2 therefore addresses research questions:

2) To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism? and

3) To what extent do pupils’ perceptions of teaching staff practice align with practitioner accounts?

In section 6.3, I analyse at individual school level the data for each of the four schools which engaged with each element of the research process. This provides a more detailed picture of practitioner perspectives and pupil experiences, and so helps to explain some of the discrepancies in the survey data. It also provides

insights into how themes are drawn on in episodes of extended talk which set limits to the extent to which practitioners move in either probilingual or counterbilingual directions.

A focus on the discussions in individual schools also provides a more nuanced analysis of the extent to which themes can be said to be pro- or counterbilingual than that already established in sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.6. I do this by exploring the role that different themes play in promoting or closing down talk which supports additive bilingualism. In this way, I aim to provide more detail to address the second research question: *To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism?*

The analysis at individual school level also explores pupil responses in the survey and group discussion in relating to practitioner descriptions of practice, therefore complementing the quantitative data to address the third research question: *To what extent do pupils' perceptions of teaching staff practice align with practitioner accounts?*

In section 6.4, I review extracts of talk from the analysis at individual school level where practitioners responded specifically to research evidence, or suggestions to adapt practice in the light of research evidence. I supplement examples of teacher talk from the four schools described in section 6.3, with data from the practitioner discussion group held at WY2. Section 6.4 provides analysis and discussion of the data to address the fourth research question: *How receptive are practitioners to messages of additive bilingual practice based on evidence?*

Finally, in section 6.5, I reflect on the influence of contextual factors on the data, by considering how the unique circumstances of two of schools may have had a

bearing on the nature of the conversations which took place in the group discussions.

6.1 Thematic analysis of practitioner data

In this section I set out the outcomes of the thematic analysis of practitioner discourse, firstly as it was identified in existing literature (section 6.1.2), and then in the survey free text data (section 6.1.4) and practitioner discussion groups (section 6.1.5). The resulting codebook (appendix M) provides the basis on which to address the first research question:

What are primary school practitioners' perspectives with regard to their bilingual pupils' learning and use of their home language?

I also identify themes as probilingual or counterbilingual, with reference to evidence and descriptions of practice in the literature review (chapters one and two), which then provide a framework for exploring the second research question:

To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism?

6.1.1 Sourcing data for the initial thematic analysis

The identification of studies likely to contain practitioner discourse occurred primarily through searches using online databases, including ERIC and BEI. I limited searches to studies published from 2000 to ensure I was capturing contemporary discourse and used a number of search strings containing keywords relevant to the aim of the research. Studies were included for data extraction for this part of the research, which:

- had a focus on mainstream schools and practitioners located in England
- contained direct quotations of practitioner talk
- reproduced practitioner talk where it related to bilingual pupils' use and/or learning of their home language.

As the search only yielded a limited number of studies, I included studies which covered the secondary, as well as primary phase. I also included two studies which were each exempt from one of the above criteria: Smyth (2000) and Strand et al (2010). Smyth's study was conducted in Scotland, and was included because of the wealth of teacher talk on precisely the theme of this research, and on the assumption that school cultures in Scotland are close enough to those in England that one would anticipate hearing similar perspectives in English schools. Strand and colleagues conducted their research in England, and while teacher discourse is reported directly, other instances are reported indirectly. I included some of the extracts in the analysis, as they focussed on students' language use in the classroom, and in particular, the negative response of suspicion this elicited in teachers. I believed this was an important theme, especially as it had appeared in non-England-based studies which the search had identified (Dooly, 2005, Karathanos, 2010). In total, teacher discourse data for this initial thematic analysis were extracted from 10 research reports. These are listed in appendix L. What follows is a description of the outcomes of the thematic analysis of practitioner discourse in the existing literature. The detailed coding frame can be found in appendix M. In identifying themes, particular attention was paid to terms which constitute an evaluation of different aspects of learning and using the home

language and English. Evaluative terms are highlighted in bold in the text here and in the coding frame.

6.1.2 Teacher perspectives identified in existing literature

In all, seven overarching themes were identified among teacher talk in the literature as it related to bilingual children's use of home language. These were:

- primacy of English
- home language use and learning as beneficial
- locating responsibility away
- accepting responsibility
- EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive
- school focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous
- home language use as subversive.

Each of the overarching themes, except 'home language use as subversive' consists of a number of subthemes. At this stage, it should be reiterated, that this was a first attempt at creating a code book based on limited data. It will be noted that subthemes derived from practitioner talk in the existing literature are based on a small number of instances of talk, usually 4-5, but sometimes as few as two. The initial codebook therefore is a starting point, and was developed following two more iterations of analysis using data collected directly for this study.

Theme 1: Primacy of English

The ‘Primacy of English’ theme covers discourse which emphasises the importance of focussing on the development of English language skills, often with the implication that home languages lack value or their continued use is an impediment to the acquisition of English.

The Primacy of English theme includes talk which focuses on a bilingual pupils’ ability in English as a prerequisite for academic performance. Here talk is about perceived low levels of English being linked with children having ‘**problems**’, and being ‘hindered’ in school and classroom activities. As bilingual pupils’ English ability improves things ‘get **better**’, ‘they do understand’, ‘they’re **fine**’ and are ‘**more** forthcoming’. Instance of this subtheme in conversation include:

‘I mean in the later stages it gets better, because the children have been there for a whole year. So they are at the stage where they do understand’
(Cable et al., 2004)

The primacy of English is emphasised through its description as *the* language:

‘because you’ve seen that when he’s confident and he knows what he’s about he’s a different child and when he doesn’t he just shies away and I think that’s the language.’ (Smyth, 2000)

As English is *the* language, when teachers talk about language ability the focus is English, and so ‘language ability equates with English language ability’. In this subtheme, children (and their parents) are ‘**limited** linguistically’ if their English language is limited, and when practitioners refer to ‘their language’, they mean English language:

'there's often a very limited vocabulary academically, generally and culturally.' (Strand et al., 2010)

While English is designated *the* language, children's home languages are not or cannot be named (subtheme: failure to name languages other than English):

'You see that's how little I am aware of the--, who speak together in their own language, who when they go home use their own language.' (Smyth 2000)

Language use is also quantified in this theme, with the implication that bilingual children and their families use their home language too much, and use English too little:

'we know they will not either hear or speak a word of English.' (Smyth, 2000)

In the 'insistence on English use' subtheme, teachers talk about English as a '**priority**', and the need for bilingual pupils to '**speak a lot more English**'. In this extract, a teacher was talking with a bilingual pupil's father, encouraging him to use more English at home with his son:

'... and he said that quite often he'd say something to [his son] in English and he would look as if he didn't understand so he would repeat it in Urdu which I said was fine you know as long as he gets the English input.'
(Smyth, 2000)

Theme 2: Home language use and learning as beneficial

The ‘Home language use and learning as beneficial’ theme highlights the benefits of learning home languages, and expresses regret that opportunities have been missed to do so.

The ‘support for learning/using home language’ subtheme consists of descriptions of encouragement and practical help practitioners provide in this regard:

I’m fully behind it, anything we can gather about how they’re learning in language one should help inform their learning in language two (Kenner, 2010)

Key words which appear in the ‘benefits of using/learning the home language’ subtheme include: ‘**larger vocabulary**’, ‘personal skills’, ‘social skills’, ‘confidence’, ‘**raised status**’, and ‘**additional value**’. Bilingual children who use their home language can ‘**better express**’ themselves:

‘If children have access to two languages they have a bigger range of vocabulary to draw on and they might have better words in one to express thoughts, feelings and emotions that is really important for developing personal and social skills.’ (Conteh, 2011)

A third subtheme focuses on the ‘deprivation of opportunities to learn/use home language’. Here, children not having access to languages spoken by their parents is regarded as a ‘**problem**’, and bilingual children ‘lose out’:

‘I mean at home there isn’t the community of Chinese. That is the biggest problem ... He doesn’t go to Chinese school or anything.’ (Smyth, 2000)

A fourth subtheme highlights ‘the negative impacts of not using/learning the home language. It is regarded as a **‘problem’** when children with the potential of being bilingual, speak and learn only English: **‘that’s all they know’**, they have **‘no knowledge and no background in’** the home language. Being bilingual and not speaking the home language leaves children ‘isolated’:

‘I taught my children English, and that’s all they know now, so they are kind of isolated – And my Mum and Dad last year, and they couldn’t talk to each other, they just smile, and they nod yes or no.’ (Cable et al, 2004)

Theme 3: Locating responsibility away

The ‘locating responsibility away’ theme covers discourse which locates responsibility for bilingual children’s use and learning of the home language to others, and refers to undue pressure placed on teachers and schools in relation to accommodating bilingual pupils. As such, it is the first of two themes which primarily play an attributive role (Wooffitt, 2005) in practitioner talk, the second being the corollary theme of ‘accepting responsibility’ (theme 4 below).

Teachers highlight the ‘lack of support for teachers/school’ in relation to bilingual pupils. Talk in this subtheme refers to impersonal authority imposing work without providing support: ‘you are virtually handed a child’, ‘they seem to have this policy’, ‘[no] way of getting anybody’:

‘there wasn’t any way of getting anybody who could speak to them in any language that she could understand...’ (Connors, 2003)

The ‘school doing all it can’ subtheme emphasises the ‘effort’ practitioners and the school are making, but without impact:

'in the context of the amount of effort that is going into reading and literacy in primary school it would suggest that it ought to be improving but it is still rocking along the bottom.' (Abbas, 2002)

The theme also focuses on the 'support at home' children receive, with an implication that a child's ability to make progress at school 'depends on their home background' and on whether they live in a family 'who make the effort'. In three instances, the support is described as lacking or non-existent:

'When they go home, they'll [Somali pupils] mainly speak Somali or Dutch and because their parents are limited linguistically they won't get any support with language at home at all.' (Strand et al., 2010)

A further subtheme more directly points to 'parental failure', alluding to their 'limited integration', and 'limited' [English] language skills. Parents 'fail to grasp' and **'do not speak any English'**:

'If the mothers fail to grasp what we are saying about their children, how can we help them?' (Connors, 2003)

Three comments belonging to the 'locating responsibility away' theme, suggested the potential for three additional subthemes:

- *child's innate ability - 'I think it depends on how clever the child is and how quickly they can pick up'* (Smyth, 2000)
- *denial of issue – 'We don't have many [bilingual] students... So I don't think it would be seen as a particularly big issue really.'*
(Barnard and Burgess, 2000)

- *declining to locate responsibility – ‘Not that I’m, I am not criticizing the parents don’t get me wrong but you know there is this he’s falling between the two and not quite sure where he belongs.’ (Smyth, 2000)*

Theme 4: Accepting responsibility

The ‘accepting responsibility’ theme makes reference to teachers’ responsibility for bilingual children’s learning, and manifests itself at two levels. On one level, there is an ‘acknowledgement of responsibility’, where the key word ‘**ideally**’ indicates an admission on the part of the practitioner that they are not acting in a way they feel they ought, while at the same time hinting at constraints:

‘I knew that ideally I should find out what strategies I need to use with him from special needs or.... yes certainly from Special Needs....er.. but it was very much towards the end of term and in the first instance I don’t think I took any particular measures. I just...allowed him to ...just to try to integrate but I was always conscious that’s not...that’s not ideal.’

(Connors, 2003)

In the ‘taking on responsibility’ subtheme, practitioners are more assertive. They proactively find out more about their bilingual pupils and implementing practice which supports them. Practitioners question the way things are done, and suggest teachers ‘have to’ or ‘should’ adopt or avoid particular practice. Certain practice is ‘**essential**’, and teachers are ‘interested’ to find out:

‘You have to show sensitivity to each of their languages to be sure that you do not make assumptions.’ (Conteh, 2011)

Theme 5: EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive

In this theme, reference is made to the different skills set and knowledge EAL specialists have from non-specialist practitioners. The ‘subject teacher-language teacher divide’ is highlighted both as individuals: ‘subject teacher’, ‘ordinary teacher’, ‘teacher of language’, ‘the specialists’ and collectively: ‘slaves to the curriculum’, ‘part of the English department’.

‘English staff felt they had to justify their existence purely through English, and that language across the curriculum was somehow offering themselves as slaves to the curriculum.’ (Barnard and Burgess, 2000)

The theme includes reference to teachers developing practice to bridge the divide, to become ‘a teacher in the wider sense’:

‘You’re not just a History teacher any more or a Geography teacher, you’re actually a teacher in the wider sense of the word.’ (Barnard and Burgess, 2000)

A further subtheme describes the ‘inaccessible arts’ of EAL practice, with reference to ‘secrets’ and a ‘mystique’:

‘[There are] some parallels between EAL work and Special Needs only in as much as there’s a mystique about it.’ (Connors, 2003)

Theme 6: School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous

In this theme, practitioners refer to the time and resources constraints, as well as their own workload, as hindering their ability to support bilingual children. References are made in this theme to the lack of time available to support bilingual children, to the amount of other work practitioners have to do, the

number of languages present among the pupils, and the financial cost involved in accommodating home language learning:

'There is an enormous inertia in teaching because we've just had so much to deal with.' (Barnard and Burgess, 2000)

'... the argument ignores the sheer number of mother-languages now in Britain. If the right to one mother-language in schools is granted, then that same right must clearly be given to all mother-languages.' (Honeyford, 2003)

Theme 7: Home language use as subversive

The theme is forwarded tentatively, as it is only drawn from two instances of teacher talk, emerging from the Strand et al study. Key words are 'suspicion', 'miscommunicating', and 'disruptive':

'There was some suspicion that, where the child had responsibility for translating, a few pupils were miscommunicating information in order appease their parents.' (Strand et al., 2010)

As discussed at the beginning of this section, this iteration of the codebook based on discourse in existing literature, provides a first step to creating a series of themes which can be tested, substantiated and altered as more data is analysed from the survey free text and discussion groups. Typically, subthemes are evidenced by 4-5 instances of talk, although many have only two, and in some cases one. In addition, very often stretches of talk for a particular subtheme come from the same source, making it difficult to claim at this stage that a subtheme has wider currency. Nevertheless, the overarching themes themselves provide coherent groupings of teacher talk with regard to bilingual pupils use and learning

of L1, and as such form a basis for constructing items for the survey questionnaire.

6.1.3 Teacher perspectives as probilingual or counterbilingual

Having identified seven themes through a first iteration of analysis in section 6.1.2, I attempt at this stage to tag these themes as either probilingual or counterbilingual, where the evidence and descriptions of practice cited in the literature review (chapters one and two) allow this. The process is similar to that carried out by Barnard and Burgess (2000), who sought to grade teacher comments in relation to bilingual support as either positive, negative or neutral. Here I try to make the process transparent by linking talk within a particular theme to the research evidence about practice likely to contribute to additive or subtractive bilingualism.

Tagging themes in this way both provides an indication of how different practitioner talk relates to subtractive or additive bilingualism, and clarifies the range of counterbilingual and probilingual talk from which a representative sample of statements was selected for the survey (see section 5.9.1).

In section 1.2.5 practices were identified as probilingual from the evidence base as those which:

- encouraged or supported literacy development in the home language
- provided opportunities to use / engage with the home language
- encouraged family engagement with bilingual children's use and learning of the home language

- sustained support for bilingualism over time.

In this analysis, I relate the discourse contained in each theme to specific practices described in sections 1.3 and 2.6 in particular, to ascertain to what degree and in what way the themes can be designated as probilingual or counterbilingual respectively.

Theme 1. Primacy of English

Talk in the ‘ability in English as prerequisite for academic performance’, ‘English as *the* language’, and ‘language ability = English language ability’ subthemes, by emphasising the primacy of English over the home language, run counter to practice and attitudes in classrooms where the home language is an accepted and acceptable medium of learning, and as such, are appropriately designated as **counterbilingual**. Practice described by Sneddon (2012) illustrates how bilingual children with as yet weak English language skills can demonstrate academic progress if given the opportunity to read in their home language with a caregiver and discuss that experience in the classroom. Such probilingual practice is negated by the ‘ability in English as prerequisite for academic performance’ subtheme. Similarly, the ‘quantifying use of languages’, which implies reduction in home language use and the more categorical ‘insistence on English use’ subthemes represent a position which contrasts with the acknowledgement of the role that speaking freely in the home language in the classroom and translanguaging play in learning and the creation of a child’s very identity (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). The ‘insistence on English use’ theme finds echoes in reports by bilingual pupils to Kenner and colleagues that they felt the classroom was not a place where they could speak Bangla (Kenner et al., 2010: 16). The theme also relates to

practice which Creese and Blackledge found to be unrealistic and constraining, given bilingual children's natural tendency to engage in translanguaging (2010). In these ways, the 'primacy of English' theme can be said to represent **counterbilingual** practice.

Theme 2. Home language use / learning as beneficial

To the extent that practitioners express an interest in bilingual children's home language development and allow them to use the home language for learning, this theme can be claimed to be **probilingual**. The instances of talk identified in the literature, however, do not cover the range of probilingual practice described in the literature review (section 1.3). For the theme to be more probilingual it would need to include examples of advocacy of such practices as the encouragement, and indeed organising of, literacy development in the home language, for example, encouraging reading at home, as described by Sneddon (2012) above, drawing on stories from home (Power and Brock, 2006), and carrying out language surveys (Kenner et al., 2010).

The 'benefits of using / learning HL' theme is an important one, as it demonstrates understanding of the outcomes of probilingual practice. The reference in this theme to affective outcomes and enhanced social skills reflects findings on the benefits of bilingualism reported by, among others, Mills (2001) and Schachter et al (2012) (see section 1.2.4).

Theme 3. Locating responsibility away

While the 'locating responsibility away' theme on the basis of its title is less transparently pro- or counterbilingual than the preceding two themes, scrutiny of instances of talk under this theme indicates a **counterbilingual** tendency. The

‘lack of support for teacher / school’ subtheme, while in itself not relating to probilingual or counterbilingual practice in any distinct way, nevertheless forwards a discourse of practitioner helplessness, which is unlikely to suggest readiness to engage proactively with probilingual practice.

The ‘support at home’ subtheme locates responsibility (and initiative) to bilingual children’s families to make the ‘effort’ to support their language learning: ‘a lot depends on their home background’ (Ghuman, 2003). It is a perspective at odds with probilingual practice in which practitioners encourage and organise not only family engagement in a bilingual child’s learning at home but also channel home language experience at home into classroom activities (eg Power and Brock, 2006, Kenner et al, 2010). There is also an interesting distinction in language focus between the theme and probilingual practice, where the former focuses on support at home in terms of English language learning, and probilingual practice focuses on the family and home environment as a locus for home language use and learning. This in turn limits school practitioner expectations of the support family members can provide, and language barrier becomes conflated to barrier to support learning, evident in the ‘parental failure’ subtheme: ‘If the mothers fail to grasp what we are saying about their children, how can we help them?’ (Connors, 2003).

The ‘parental failure’ subtheme is also redolent of discourse at a political level cited in section 2.2 which unfavourably compares immigrant parents in the UK speaking their home language with their children, with parents in emerging economies who ‘strive’ for their children to learn English (Sky News, 2013).

In terms of the concept of ‘repertoire’ developed in section 3.2, the ‘locating responsibility away’ theme takes on a certain ‘meta’ role, in as far as it signals a closure to novel discourse or practice, and therefore an individual’s unwillingness to expand on existing repertoires.

Theme 4. Accepting responsibility

In contrast to ‘locating responsibility away’, the ‘accepting responsibility’ theme, has two subthemes which represent stages in readiness to engage with probilingual practice. ‘Acknowledgement of responsibility’ may be interpreted as a first step in moving towards more probilingual practice, finding current practice not ‘ideal’. ‘Taking on responsibility’ describes concrete actions which have been taken, which are planned or which should be taken which constitute a move towards more probilingual practice. It is a perspective manifest in practitioners taking steps to ensure home cultures are shared in school (Power and Brock, 2006), or meeting bilingual children and their families half-way by learning something of the home language (Conteh, 2011). As such, the ‘accepting responsibility’ theme is appropriately designated as **probilingual**.

In terms of the concept of ‘repertoire’, the ‘accepting responsibility’ theme, as with and in contradistinction to ‘locating responsibility away’, takes on a ‘meta’ role, in as much as it signals a readiness on the part of the individual to expand on or change existing repertoires in the light of suggestions from others.

Theme 5. EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive

In many ways, the ‘EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive’ theme aligns with the ‘locating responsibility away’ theme. To the extent that the discourse describes a gap in knowledge and skills between EAL specialists and

other classroom practitioners, there can be an abdication of responsibility for the latter to pay any particular attention to language learning as they prepare and deliver classroom activities, as this is the role of the specialists. To this extent, the theme aligns with **counterbilingual** practice. The theme also reflects the findings by NALDIC (2009) of a lack of consistency in EAL training for teachers, and by Wallace and Mallows (2009) that there was little evidence of partnership working between mainstream teaching staff and EAL specialists.

Theme 6. School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous

Self-evidently, any discourse relating to the ‘school focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous’ theme is **counterbilingual**. The subthemes forward arguments against implementing innovative practice in general (‘quantity of work’ teachers are already dealing with, ‘lack of time’) and probilingual practice in particular, ‘quantity of languages’, which would need to be accommodated. However, as the Enchanted Forest project and Kenner’s work illustrate (see section 1.3) home language use and learning can be integrated into the curriculum without recourse to additional resources, beyond the input and guidance of specialists.

Theme 7. Home language use as subversive

Again, with the negative connotations the ‘home language as subversive’ theme has for home language use, it is a theme at odds with the encouragement of home language learning and use, and there for appropriately tagged as **counterbilingual**. The language of dislocation among the key phrases of this theme (‘feel excluded’, ‘disruptive’) is echoed in pathological discourse more widely prevalent in society, such as claims that speaking several languages at

home contributes to ‘schizophrenia’ within family relationships (Hughes, 2014), or associations made by politicians and commentators between negative outcomes more generally (‘immigration threat’, ‘impact on schools and hospitals’) and the presence of different languages in society (Sparrow, 2014).

Based on the preceding analysis, it is possible to assign the seven themes identified so far as follows:

Prolingual

2. Home language use / learning as beneficial
4. Accepting responsibility

Counterbilingual

1. Primacy of English
3. Locating responsibility away
5. EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive
6. School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous
7. Home language use as subversive

For the purposes of the survey questionnaire, the themes were operationalised into a series of statements, as described in section 5.9.1.

In the following sections, I describe the thematic analysis of the data from survey free text boxes and the practitioner discussion groups. Themes were revised in the light of the new data. In addition, three new themes emerged. The extent to which these new themes can be tagged as pro- or counterbilingual will be discussed in section 6.1.6.

6.1.4 Revisions to the codebook in the light of data emerging from survey free text

The second iteration of creating the codebook consisted of analysis of the data emerging from the free text prompt in the survey questionnaire. I identified instances of themes through application of existing key words and phrases, or identifying semantically linked phrases. Adaptations were made to subthemes, in order to provide as close a fit to the emerging data as possible.

The free text prompt in the online survey was formulated in the following way:

Please use this space to make any comments about provision for EAL/bilingual pupils, dynamics in the classroom, strategies you use etc.

The prompt was designed to encourage participants to describe practice, as well as express their views on supporting learning for bilingual pupils. In the event, responses tended to be either lists describing practice in short phrases or more detailed explanations of practice, sometimes with justification or other markers of value judgements. A list of practice would be:

- bilingual books, dictionaries - buddy - children who speak the same language (London LA, EAL specialists)

More detailed explanations of practice with justification or value judgements included, for example:

Seat similar EAL children separately (so they do not talk to each other in their native language) (PGCE)

For the thematic analysis, I only included extended descriptions of practice, as they were likely to include key words which enabled better identification of themes. The lists of practice were ordered into probilingual and counterbilingual

categories where they could be identified as supporting or undermining the four principles identified in section 1.2.5. Such practice would include bilingual books and buddying children who speak the same language. These data were included in the analysis at the level of individual schools where they featured in the survey responses for that school.

In total, the survey data yielded 37 instances of discourse which could be coded under the thematic framework developed from teacher talk in the existing literature. In some cases, this led to a revision of the title of the subtheme, and in one case a new subtheme was created within an existing theme. In addition, a new theme of ‘instrumental use of home language’ was created to accommodate several discussions of classroom practice. A full description of the revisions and additions made in the light of survey free text data are set out in the codebook in (appendix M). Meanwhile, I describe below the features of the additional theme identified in the analysis of survey free text data: ‘instrumental use of home language’.

Theme 8: Instrumental use of home language

Instrumental use of home language was identified as an additional theme based on five instances of discourse emerging from the survey text, which referred to home language use as a means of supporting the teacher, in particular by facilitating communication in the classroom. Key phrases include ‘translate’, ‘interpret’, and ‘**useful**’, and ‘help [the teacher to] understand / communicate with parents / find out what the child knows’, for example:

*It's useful having teachers that speak the same language as the children -
TAs who speak an additional [language] is useful as they can
communicate affectively to parents/carers. (PGCE)*

Of the themes which were identified in teacher talk within the existing literature, it was only the 'home language use as subversive' for which no additional instances emerged in the survey data.

This completes the description of the thematic analysis of the survey free text data. In section 6.1.5 I describe the third and final iteration of the thematic analysis for the study based on the data emerging from the practitioner group discussions.

6.1.5 Revisions to the codebook in the light of data emerging from practitioner group discussions

Practitioner discussion groups took place in five schools, the transcriptions were analysed for instances of themes already identified in teacher talk from the existing literature and survey free texts. The group discussions yielded 85 instances of discourse which could be coded using the revised codebook. All themes were supplemented with instances from the group discussions apart from Theme 5: *EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive*.

Changes were made to the wording of two subthemes to accommodate some of the new instances of talk, and theme 8 was changed from 'instrumental use of home languages' to 'utility of home language learning /use' to encompass other instances of talk which referred to the utility of home languages beyond school.

In addition, two new themes in relation to bilingual learners emerged from the group discussions: 'well-being', which focussed on the affective impact of

practice on bilingual children, particularly those at the early stages of learning English, and ‘surface level use / learning of home language’, where talk referred to practice which encouraged use and learning of home languages, but not in depth or in any sustained way. I next describe the features of these two themes.

Theme 9: Well-being

The well-being theme emerged across 12 instances of talk during the practitioner group discussions. The suggestion that teachers tell bilingual children to speak English only as it is rude when others don’t understand, elicited comments that this would have a negative impact on their morale, and would be unfair and frustrating for them. In addition, when teachers were considering approaches to helping bilingual children reflect on their progress, they thought this would be good as it would counter ‘lower expectations’ bilingual pupils might have of themselves. Key phrases for this theme include: ‘feel welcome’, ‘feel upset’, ‘morale’, ‘unfair’, ‘frustrating’, and ‘nice’:

I remember you, last year when you did just sort of incidental learning, asking which languages they were using ... it was nice for the children to hear (L1).

Theme 10: Surface level use / learning of home language

Based as it is on five instances of teacher talk from the discussion groups, the ‘surface level use / learning of home language’ theme is tentative. It is supported by entries in the lists of practice in the survey not included in the thematic analysis, such as answering the register in home languages. Teachers speak of practice where home languages are celebrated, basic words or greetings are taught

and used in the classroom, or they make reference to other activities which require limited use of language:

I think most people have common phrases or words or greetings and I know I had an influx of Polish children last year in year 5 and because we did it and we talked about it they were really trying and I gave them an opportunity sort of when new children joined the class to greet each other but that was if I'm honest as far as it got (WY1).

6.1.6 Teacher perspectives as probilingual or counterbilingual

In section 6.1.3 I tagged the first seven themes emerging from the initial thematic analysis as probilingual or counterbilingual. In this section I complete this process by relating the three new themes from the analysis of survey text and discussion group data to the evidence and descriptions of practice cited in the literature review (chapters one and two).

Theme 8. Utility of home language learning / use

On first consideration, the 'utility of home language learning / use' theme may appear probilingual to the extent it encourages and provides a meaningful context for home language use in schools. However, as Kenner et al (2008) point out, where the use of home languages is permitted in the classroom, this is mostly for transitional purposes, helping pupils at the early stages of English settle in and participate until they can engage more fluently in English (see section 2.6). In this regard, the theme runs counter to the fourth principle for a probilingual curriculum: sustained support for bilingualism.

In addition, talk in this theme is concerned with how home language use can help the teacher engage with bilingual pupils and their parents, as opposed to

considering the home language as a means and object of learning for pupils in its own right. The distinction is clearly seen when considering the role of translation in the two contexts. Within ‘the utility of home language in classroom / school’ subtheme, translation is a means of aiding communication to ensure classroom activities can proceed:

I ask children to use their home language in class with another child interpreting because if there is no-one to help me understand, the child will just be talking in their home language with no way to support them (Survey free text, L3).

The value of translating into and out of the home language is not considered beyond its usefulness in day-to-day classroom management. This contrasts with the use of translation as a learning strategy, such as through the creation of dual language books (Sneddon, 2012). Sneddon describes the depth of learning such activities provide, offering pupils as they do the opportunity:

to explore and analyse the similarities and differences between their languages; working with different syntactic structures and the very different range of meanings that equivalent words have in different languages can develop metalinguistic skills and critical literacy.
(Sneddon, 2012: 437)

The ‘utility of languages outside of school’ subtheme includes an argument that particular languages should be learned in the primary classroom because these are the languages children will learn in secondary school ‘it’s good for high school’. Such arguments have been used historically when primary schools have implemented MFL curriculum based on French, German or Spanish (Ofsted,

2005). This subtheme can therefore also be said to be **counterbilingual** to the extent that such an argument maintains a status quo domination of mainstream foreign languages to the detriment of considering the learning of the majority of home languages represented in schools.

Theme 9. Well-being

The well-being theme can be said to be probilingual to the extent it focuses on children's social and emotional outcomes, and sees the use of the home language as a means for supporting these outcomes. Focussing as it does on children 'feeling welcome' through the use of their home language in the classroom, and 'not feeling upset' because they are made to feel they can't use it, the theme would appear to align with the arguments made by Conteh and Brock that:

it is important for our self-confidence and identity as learners that we feel we belong and are valued in the settings in which we are learning.

Bilingual children need to feel that their first language is valued in school and that it is not seen as second rate to English (Conteh and Brock, 2006: 5).

Nevertheless, whether this theme represents a strong or weak probilingual position comes down to context. Where talk is about allowing children to use their home language so they do not feel upset, it takes on a tone that a concession is being made, rather than one of support for using the home language. This is of a different order to practice supported by evidence presented by Bougie et al. (2003), Combs (2005), Wright (2004), and Wong-Fillmore (1991), which emphasises the need to maintain the home language. What these authors advocate is more aligned to the 'home language use and learning as beneficial' theme,

which in this light can be seen as representing a stronger form of additive bilingualism.

Theme 10. Surface level use / learning of home language

As with the ‘well-being’ theme, ‘surface level use / learning of HL’ can be considered to be probilingual in tone to the extent that it represents a positive attitude to home language use. On the other hand, if surface level use of the home language is seen as a destination as opposed to a step on the way to deeper use and learning of home languages, that not only limits any claim that it aligns with probilingual practice, but could indeed be seen as discourse which blocks stronger forms of probilingual practice being developed. Certainly, Safford and Drury saw the focus on ‘celebrating’ linguistic diversity as the result of policy which promoted language learning in principle, but which did not require teachers to engage with the pedagogy required to make the most of languages for learning (2013). I explore in detail how the ‘surface level use / learning of HL’ theme is used in practitioner discourse to both advocate more probilingual practice, and head off discussion of stronger, ‘languages for learning’, forms of probilingual practice in section 6.3.

6.1.7 Summary of the outcomes of the thematic analysis

The thematic analysis of the data set for this study has led to the identification of 10 themes among practitioner talk in relation to bilingual pupils’ use and learning of their home language, and in doing so provides a response to the first research question:

What are primary school practitioners’ perspectives with regard to their bilingual pupils’ learning and use of their home language?

Furthermore, by relating the themes to evidence about practice which supports or undermines additive bilingualism, I have laid the foundations for answering the second research question:

To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism?

To what extent these themes can be said to be a reliable reflection of the prevalence of practitioner discourse in this area more generally is subject to several considerations. Firstly, the sampling favours particular groups and topics of conversation. This is especially true for the research studies from which data from existing literature were derived. For example, Cable et al spoke to bilingual teaching assistants about their role in schools, while Smyth interviewed mainstream non-specialist teachers focussing on their beliefs about best practice. This also means that certain subthemes are based on limited data. The ‘subject teacher-language teacher divide’ subtheme, for example, would not have been identified from the literature if it were not for the inclusion of a single source in the analysis (Barnard and Burgess, 2000). Even the accumulation of all practitioner talk from across the studies in the first iteration of the thematic analysis led to limited topics for the survey and group discussion prompts.

While it may be argued this will have constrained the range of issues and practice participating practitioners would talk about, the emergence of new themes from this stage of the research showed that talk went beyond the topic prompts.

Secondly, demarcation of different themes is to a certain extent arbitrary, and far from clear cut. As Ryan and Bernard point out:

Themes are abstract (and often fuzzy) constructs the investigators identify before, during and after analysis (Ryan and Bernard, 2003: 780).

This is also apparent in the codebook created for this study. Such ‘fuzziness’ is evident, for example, in the boundary between the ‘surface level use and learning of home language’ and ‘home language use and learning as beneficial’ themes, where a distinction was made between:

They could learn some basic words or something welcoming words or something like that (surface level use) (WY2)

and

They might even learn a song (support for learning / using HL) (WY1)

Here I took the decision that learning a song was a more substantial learning activity than learning greetings in different languages, where others might not make such a distinction. Elsewhere, the stability of themes comes into question as they are applied to additional segments of data. A shift in meaning can be perceived, for example, as the ‘taking on responsibility’ subtheme is applied to practitioner group discussion data. There is a difference in specificity and tone of urgency between:

Getting the children to understand and to speak in any language is important, therefore some knowledge of first language is essential for an early years teacher (Conteh, identified in the first iteration of the thematic analysis)

and

I remember at the time trying to find out was there any way was there anybody in the community whatever who you could use to help but it just kind of fizzled out - trying to get to help but it never really happened
(WY2, identified in the third iteration)

Nevertheless, the discipline of spelling out full descriptions for each theme has ensured a certain degree of ‘internal homogeneity’ and ‘external heterogeneity’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006), and such additions to subthemes on the whole widen the spectrum of data they comprise, while maintaining clear boundaries, rather than compromise their coherence.

Thirdly, the question arises over what is meant by the ‘prevalence’ of themes. A simple count of instances of each theme in the codebook would suggest the ‘primacy of English’ is the most prevalent theme (Table 6.1). Given the wider English only messages embedded in policy and among the public at large, described in chapter two, this outcome appears credible and is perhaps unsurprising.

Table 6.1 Number of instances of talk for each theme identified across all data sets

Theme	Number of instances
1: Primacy of English	44
2: Home language use and learning as beneficial	36
3: Locating responsibility away	36
4: Accepting responsibility	26
6: School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous	15
9: Well-being	12
5: EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive	10
8. Utility of home language learning / use	9
10: Surface level use / learning of home language	5
7. Home language use as subversive	5

While Guest et al (2012) consider the presentation of numbers an important element of thematic analysis, and as such, quantification of instances a legitimate measure of prevalence of a theme (Guest et al., 2012: 13), Braun and Clarke (2013) suggest that such quantification belongs to content analysis and so reject it as a relevant indicator of prevalence. Braun and Clarke suggest instead the spread of themes across participants (‘the majority of participants’, ‘many participants’) may be a more important indicator, but even here, they are ambivalent about the concept:

Such descriptors work rhetorically to suggest a theme really existed in the data, and to convince us they are reporting truthfully about the data. But

do they tell us much? This is perhaps one area where more debate needs to occur about how and why we might represent the prevalence of themes in the data, and, indeed, whether, if, and why prevalence is particularly important. (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 12)

A consideration of the occurrence of themes across settings (table 6.2) also sheds light on the presence of a ‘system’ (Giddens, 1984), beyond individual settings, in which they operate. Giddens defines ‘system’ as ‘the patterning of social relations across time-space, understood as reproduced practices’ (Giddens, 1984: 377). In this regard, the data would suggest that a practitioner may move from one setting to another and recognise and engage in talk about similar practices, and so in effect the participants across these studies may be said in many respects to be working within the same system.

Table 6.2 Occurrences of themes across sources

Source	1. Primacy of Eng	2. HL use/learning as beneficial	3. Locating responsibility away	4. Accepting responsibility	5. EAL spec skills as exclusive	6. Focus on HL as onerous	7. HL use as subversive	8. Utility of HL learning/use	9. Well-being	10. Surface use/learning of HL
Total	11	15	12	9	5	6	3	6	3	4
Abbas										
Barnard										
Cable										
Connors										
Conteh										
Ghuman										
Honeyford										
Kenner										
Smyth										
Strand										
EAL										
L1										
L2										
L3										
PGCE										
WM1										
WM2										
WM3										
WM4										
WY1										
WY2										

Taken together, the two approaches to quantifying instances of themes (total instances and spread) provide a certain indicator of their prevalence. It is noticeable, for example, that the same four themes which have strong ‘prevalence’ in terms of the number of instances they cover, were also the prevalent themes according to their occurrence across sources, with the ‘home language use and learning as beneficial’ the most commonly invoked.

There is also potentially more which such quantitative analysis can tell us. The appearance of particular themes across different studies, for instance, may reflect the focus of those studies. It is interesting, for example, that both the Conteh and Kenner studies, advocating as they were probilingual practice in schools, contained teacher talk which related to the ‘home language use and learning as beneficial’ theme, but not the ‘primacy of English’, or ‘locating responsibility away’ themes. Teacher discourse in the Burgess and Barnard study, where the participants were teachers on a professional development programme to support bilingual pupils, was similarly probilingual in tone.

Quantitative analysis of instances of themes of the qualitative data, therefore, provides some tentative answers to the question: *To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism?* but can only go so far. In section 6.2 I describe the quantitative analysis of the responses in the practitioner and pupil surveys. This adds to the understanding of the prevalence of the different themes, by considering their degree of acceptability to practitioners, and how much this aligns to pupil experiences.

6.2 Quantitative analysis of teacher and pupil survey responses

For the quantitative analysis, data from all participating teachers and pupils were included in the analysis. The approach to sampling (see section 5.7) means that the outcomes of the survey can do no more than provide an approximate indication of teacher perspectives more widely. This part of the study does not contribute to an understanding of the repertoires practitioners draw on, but it may provide an indication of the strength of the rules and resources constraints (Giddens, 1984) within which they operate .

Casting the invitation to participate widely, and giving schools the choice as to what elements of the research they wished to engage in was helpful in maximising rates of participation. However, this elective aspect of the research, along with the fact that two practitioner groups (PGCE and LA EAL specialists) participated without corresponding pupil cohorts, led to:

- inconsistencies in ensuring pupils were matched to participating practitioners (the pupils of 92 participating practitioners were not represented in the pupil survey)
- inconsistencies in the teacher:pupil ratio where teachers and pupils from the same school did participate
- the likelihood that a number of pupils who did participate had not experienced the teaching of participating practitioners, even if they were from the same school.

On the other hand, the inclusion of all practitioners means that the sample size satisfies Bartlett et al's (2001) stipulation for an alpha level for an exploratory study (see section. 4.3.4). Furthermore, as can be seen from figure 6.1, seven of the participating 12 centres engaged both practitioners and pupils in the survey, creating a potential correspondence of 51% of participating teachers to 88% of participating pupils.

Included in the analysis of the survey data are practitioner responses to three probilingual statements:

- I tell my pupils they should be reading books in their home language as well as in English

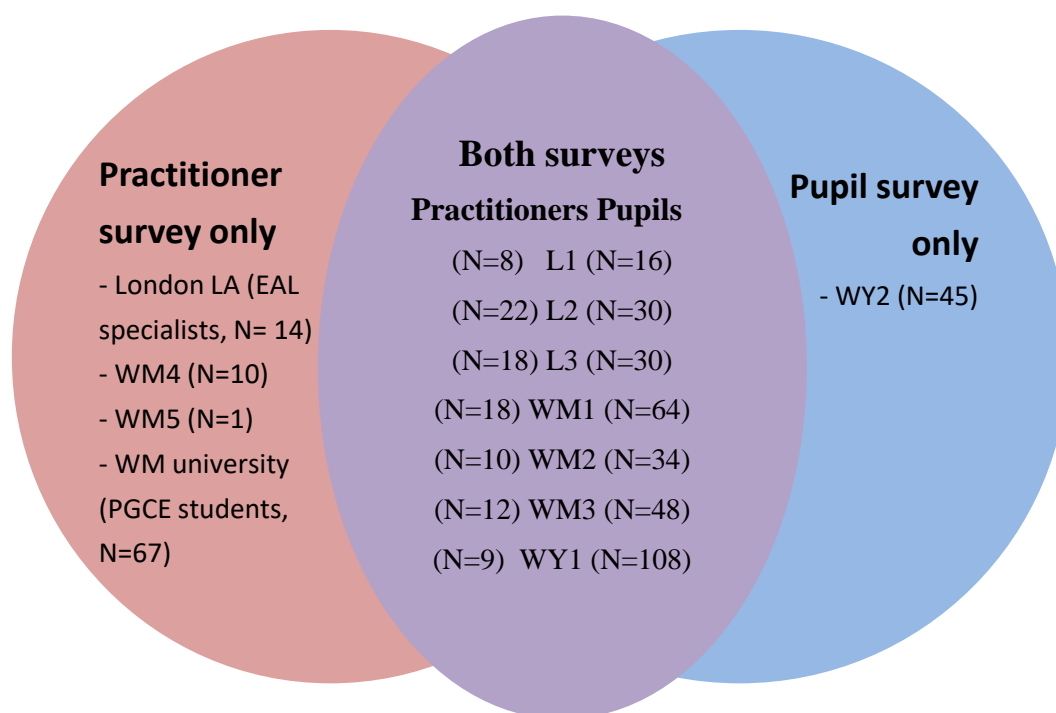
- I encourage children to use their home language when they need to, as it helps
- I design activities which focus on the different languages children in the class speak

and three counterbilingual statements:

- I tell my bilingual pupils it's best to speak English at home as much as they can and not their home language
- I tell my pupils to speak English in class as it's rude to speak their home language when others don't understand
- Helping children learn their home language would just be too much work.

In their survey, pupils were required to state whether they thought or were sure their KS1 teacher would or would not have made these statements.

Figure 6.1 Distribution of practitioner and pupil participants across surveys



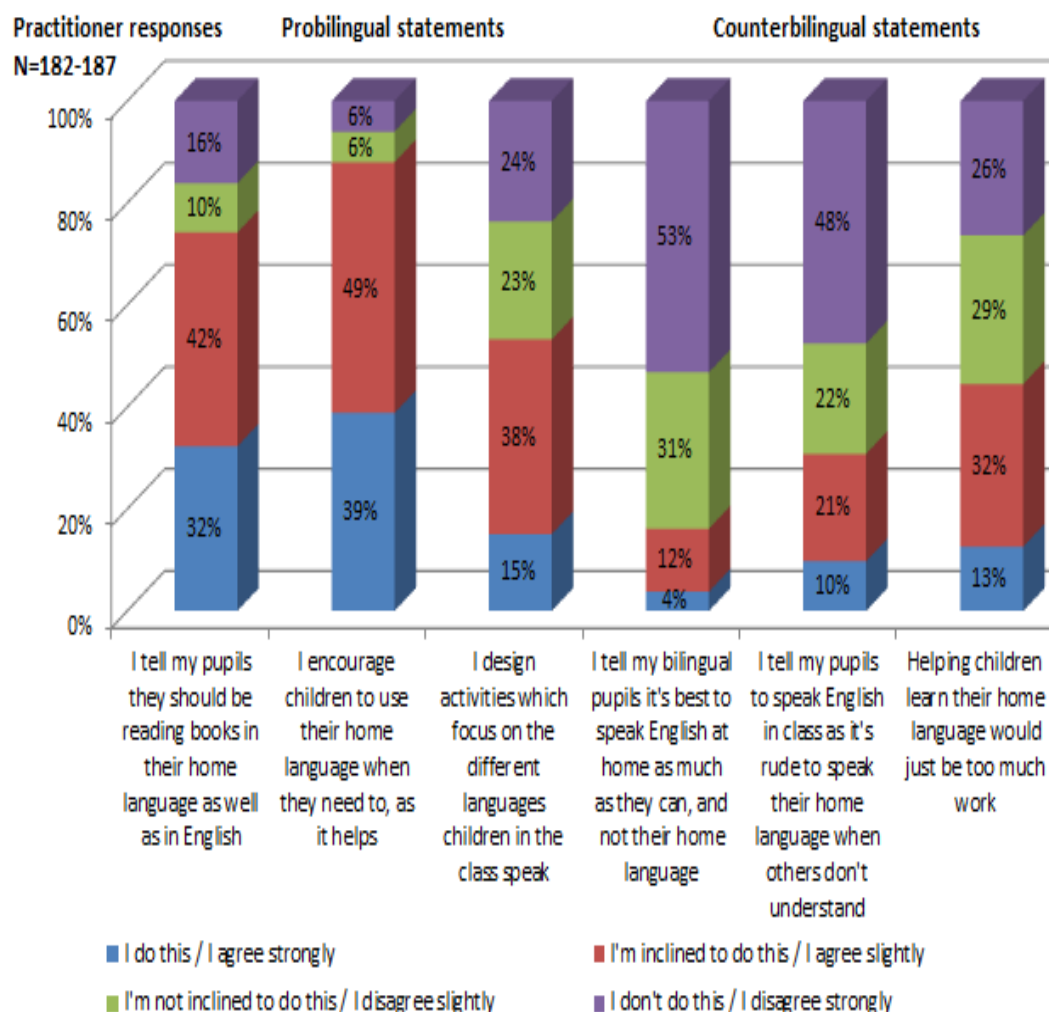
Given these caveats on what the survey results may say about the wider primary teaching population, some interesting patterns emerge among practitioner responses overall, as well as from the comparison of different groups of practitioners in the sample, and of overall practitioner and pupil results.

Firstly, practitioners reported conducting probilingual practices in greater numbers than counterbilingual practices, and there is a rough inverse correlation in responses to the first two probilingual statements compared to the first two counterbilingual statements (see graph 6.1). On the other hand, practitioners reported designing activities which focussed on the different languages of the classroom (item 3) in fewer numbers (15%), and fewer were inclined to do this, than was the case with the other two probilingual practices, leading to a near 50:50 split between those favouring this practice and those inclined not to

implement it. This may be indicative of the fact that while encouragement to read in the home language or use it in the classroom may be relatively easy to implement, designing activities is a more demanding undertaking. I explore differences in talk about the various probilingual activities in more detail in the analysis at individual school level.

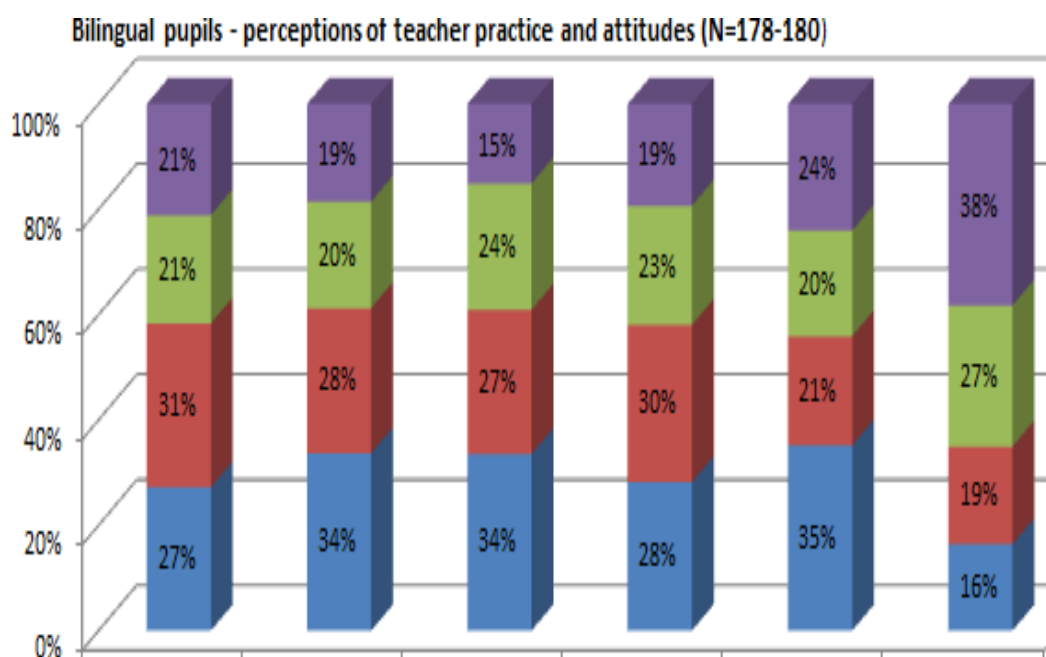
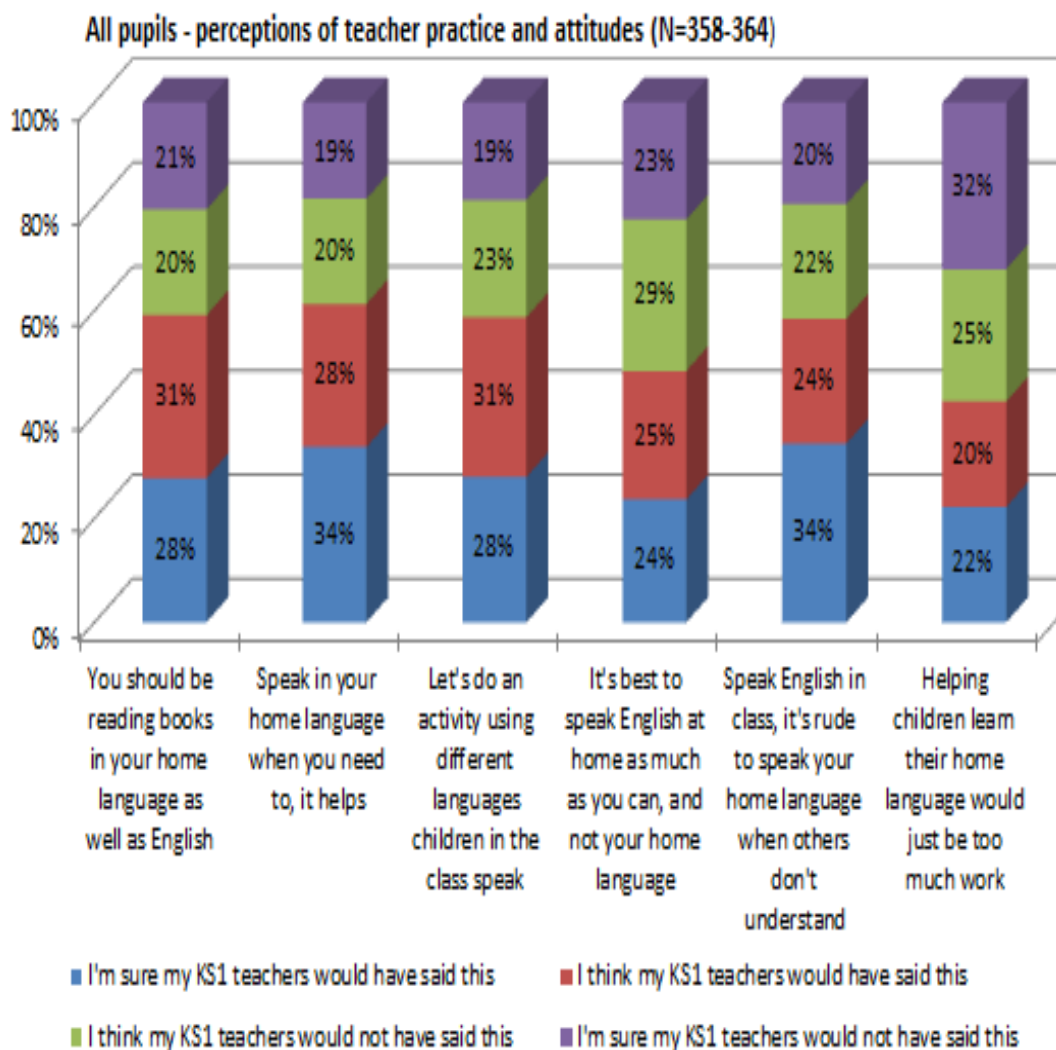
A similar split emerged over whether practitioners agreed or disagreed with the statement: ‘helping children learn their home language would just be too much work’ (item 6). Again, practitioners may have been more inclined to agree with this counterbilingual statement that suggested a specialist undertaking on their part, as opposed to the other two statements, which were about restricting home language use.

Graph 6.1 All practitioner survey responses



Secondly, data from the pupil survey (graph 6.2) shows that their responses represent a less probilingual and more counterbilingual experience, than would be expected from the practitioner responses. Again, the exceptions to this are items '3' and '6'. On item '3', a higher proportion of pupils felt their teachers did or were inclined to design activities which focussed on the different languages children in the class speak. They were also more likely to think their teachers would disagree with the statement that helping bilingual children learn their home language would be too much work, than the teachers themselves declared to be the case.

Graph 6.2: All pupils vs bilingual pupils only survey responses



As can be seen from graph 6.2, these patterns of responses did not alter in any substantial way, whether it was all pupils' responses taken into account, or bilingual pupils' responses alone.

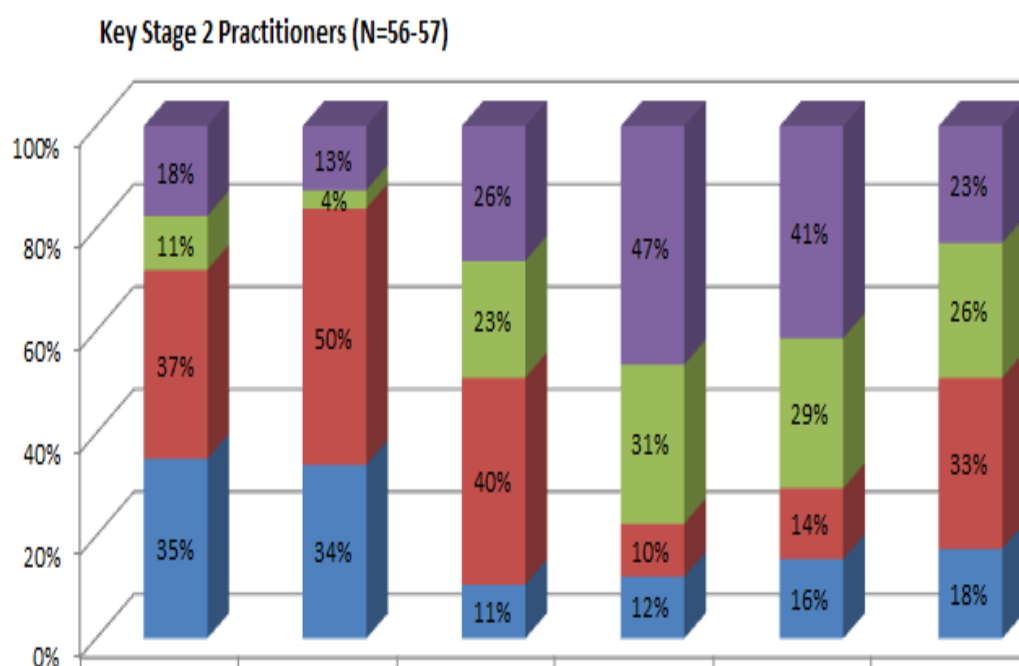
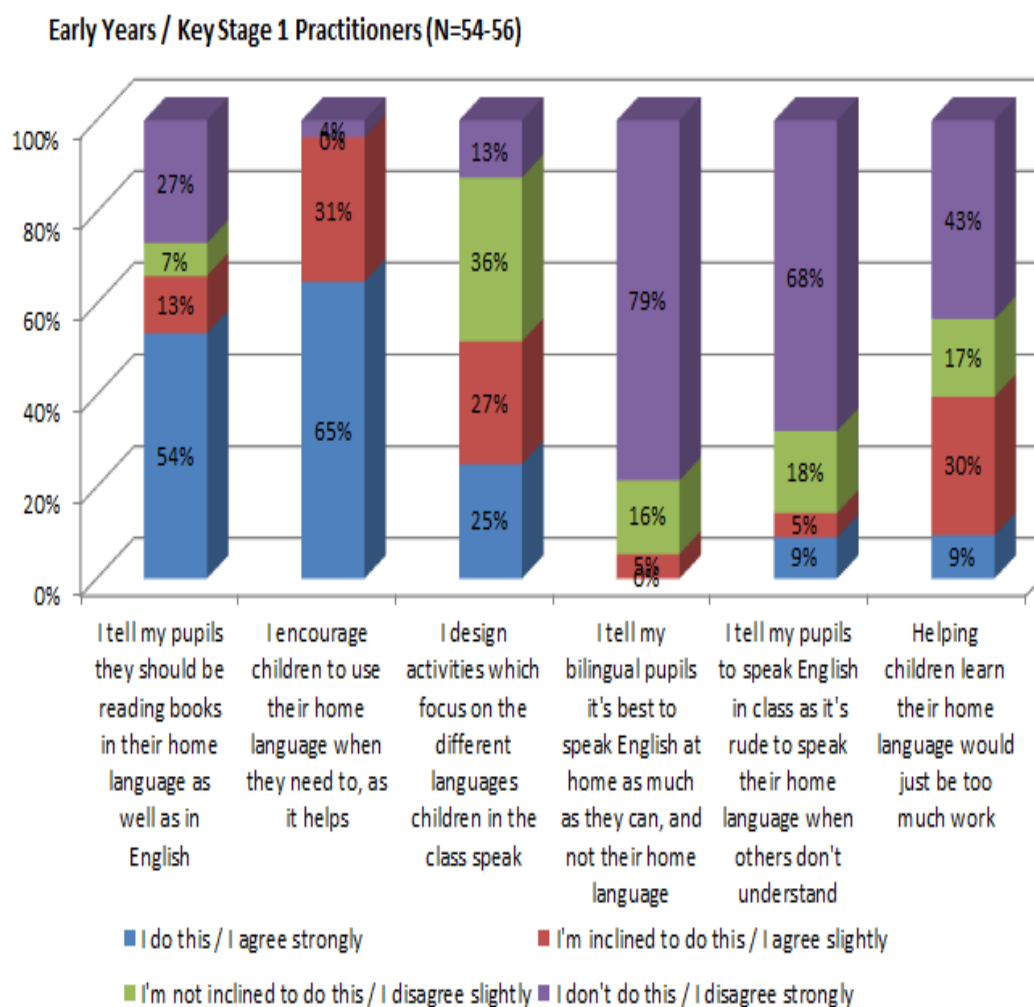
The pupil survey outcomes also create more ambiguity around the question of teachers' views towards the use of English and home languages in the classroom. Whereas there is a clear tendency in the practitioner survey towards allowing the use of home languages and away from insisting on English, with correlating patterns in items 2 and 5, pupil responses are spread more evenly across the options for both items: 62% believed their KS1 teacher would have encouraged use of the home language when necessary; and 58% responded that their teacher would have insisted on English use. An assumption that those who responded positively to item 2 responded negatively to item 5 cannot explain the figures entirely. It becomes clear in the practitioner talk, reported in section 6.3, that practitioners have a more nuanced understanding of language use in the classroom than these statements alone can accommodate.

The contrasts visible here between practitioner and pupil report of practice lead to the question of how conflicting data from the surveys are to be interpreted – to what extent does either set of results approximate the reality of the classroom? Insights from bilingual research suggest that, as is evident here, practitioners do not perceive their practice in the way pupils experience them, and that the reality of practice is closer to pupils' experience than teacher report. Gaps have been identified, for example, between teachers' perceptions of classroom interactions and those of pupils, particularly when it comes to the sense of permission or

prohibition applied to bilingual pupils' use of their home languages in school (Kenner, Ruby et al, 2010). Elsewhere, researchers more generally find discrepancies between teacher perceptions of their practice and student experiences (Timperley et al., 2007). However, given the absence of direct observation, an attempt to draw any conclusions from the data about actual practice is not made in this thesis.

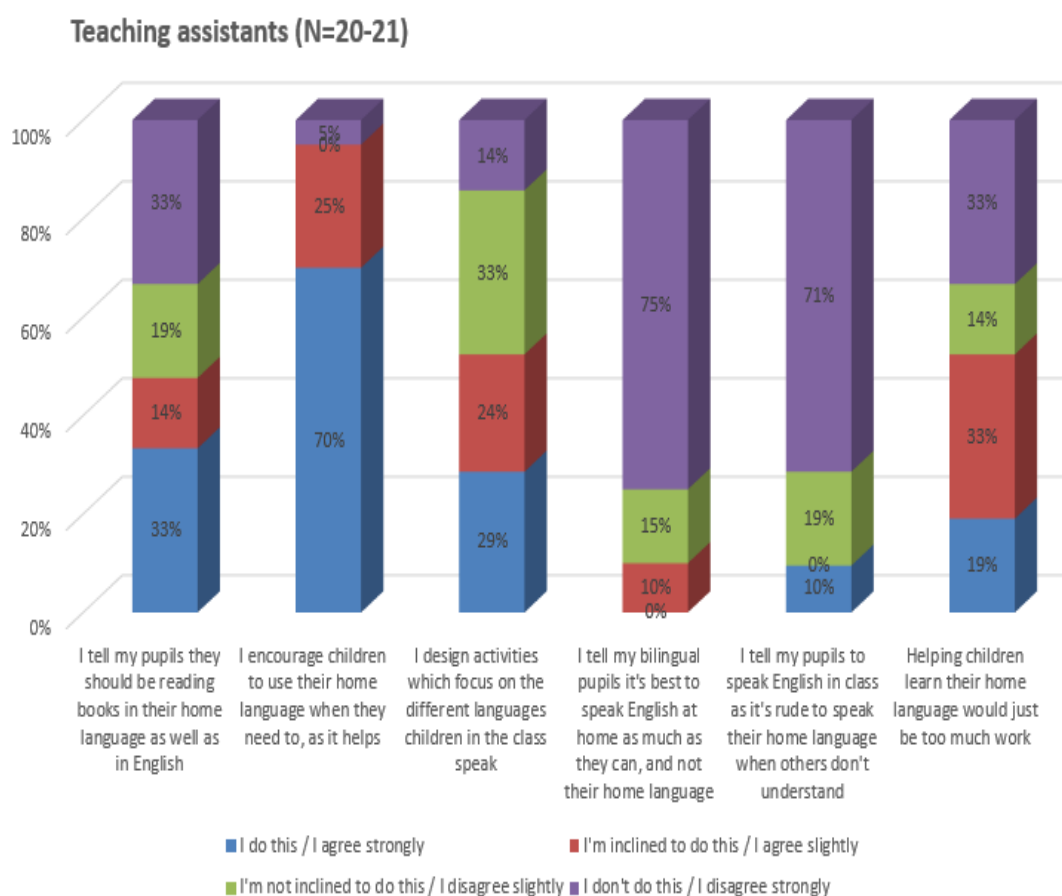
Differences emerged depending on whether responding practitioners were early years / key stage one (EY/KS1 ages 4-7) practitioners, or key stage two (7-11), with the latter less likely to report probilingual and more likely to report counterbilingual practice, or inclination towards this. EY/KS1 practitioners were also more certain about engaging in probilingual practice, and not engaging in counterbilingual practice. It is also interesting that EY/KS1 practitioners were the grouping with the highest percentage of participants claiming to design activities which focus on the different languages the children in the class speak (25%), aligning more closely with the pupil response on this item (28%), than the figure for all primary practitioners (15%). This may suggest responding pupils were reflecting a KS1 experience, as requested in the survey introduction, where practitioners were more inclined to incorporate home languages in classroom activities.

Graph 6.3 Early Years/KS1 vs KS2 practitioner survey responses



Teaching assistants were also more likely to report greater support for probilingual practice than the sample as a whole. The sample of 21 (11 in EY/KS1, and 10 in KS2) is relatively small, but I represent the outcomes in percentages to enable easier comparison with the EY/KS1 group, where the figures for encouraging L1 use in the classroom, and not insisting on the use of English at home or in the classroom in particular are comparable.

Graph 6.4 Teaching assistants survey responses



Cable et al (2004) found that bilingual teaching assistants, on the whole, colluded with a transitional (as opposed to maintenance) approach to home language use in the classroom, and so I explored to what extent this might be the case among bilingual teaching assistants in this cohort. Eight of the teaching assistants

participating in the survey reported speaking a language other than English at intermediate or native speaker level. On the whole, in the survey responses they advocated probilingual practice: all eight encouraged children to use their home language when they need to, and only one was inclined to encourage children to speak English at home. On the other hand, two indicated they told pupils to speak English in class as it's rude when others don't understand, and only five encouraged, or were inclined to encourage, reading in the home language. This aligns with analysis of their free text responses, which tended to reflect 'utility of home language learning / use' and 'surface use / learning of the home language', rather than 'home language use and learning as beneficial' themes:

encourage other children from the same country to explain the task to the recently arrived new child encourage verbal communication in home language for better understanding of the task answer register in different languages (TA, WM1)

displays in different language encourage children to communicate with children speaking the same language answering the register in different languages using pictures to understand what the child says (TA, WM1)

In one instance, the bilingual teaching assistant took a clear 'primacy of English' stance:

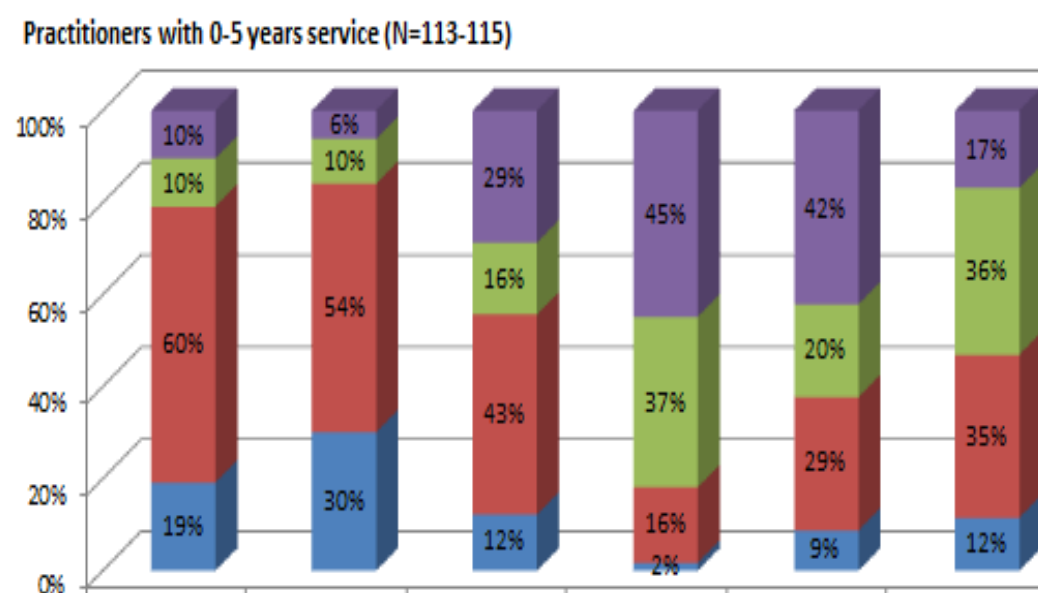
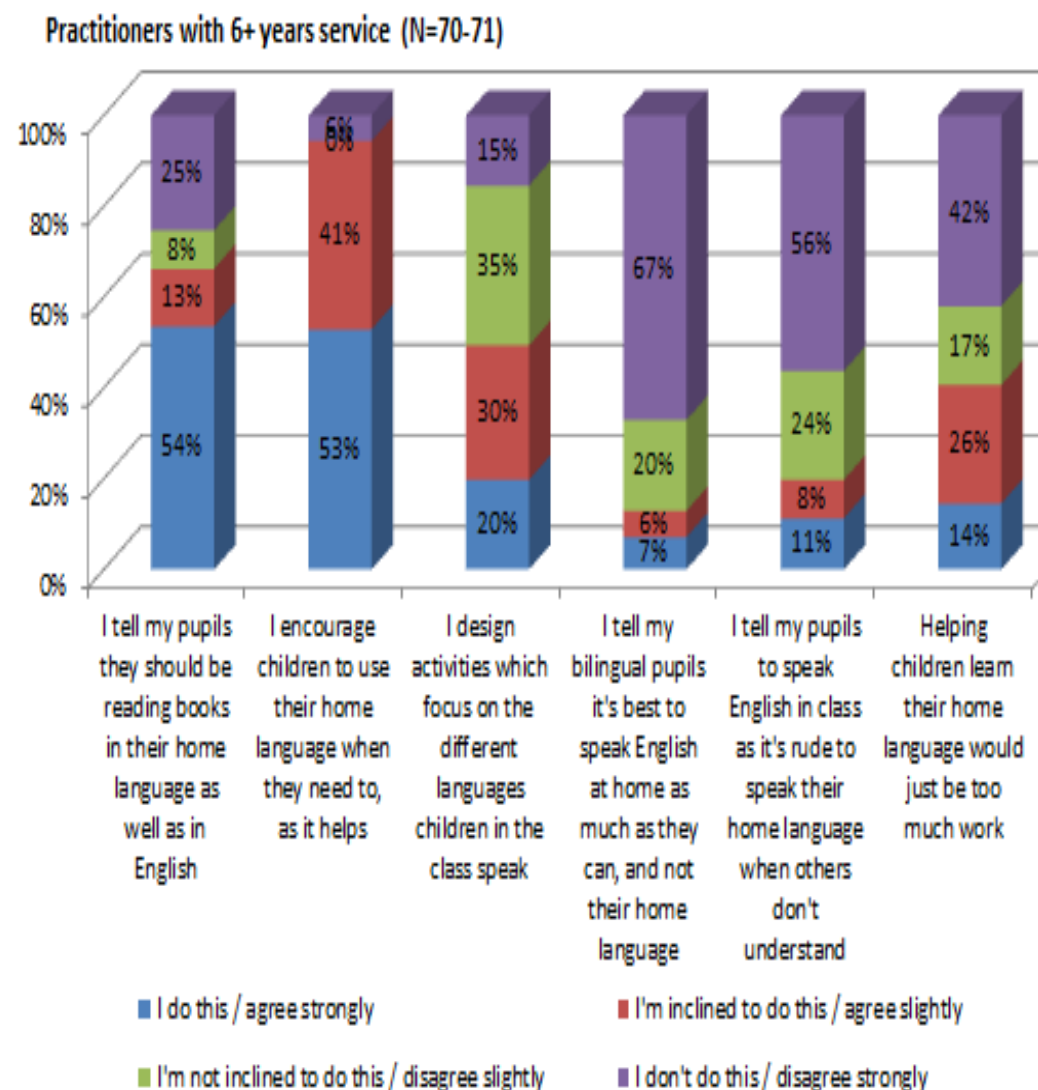
early years foundation stage: - pupils with basic knowledge of English > try to speak English all the time - pupils with no English > try to speak English, but translation into their home language to make sure they do understand KS1, KS2 - speak English all the time, use home language only if needed (TA, WY1)

This analysis of a small number of bilingual TAs suggests that while they are a potential resource to support bilingualism in the classroom, they are unlikely of themselves to suggest probilingual practice in its stronger forms.

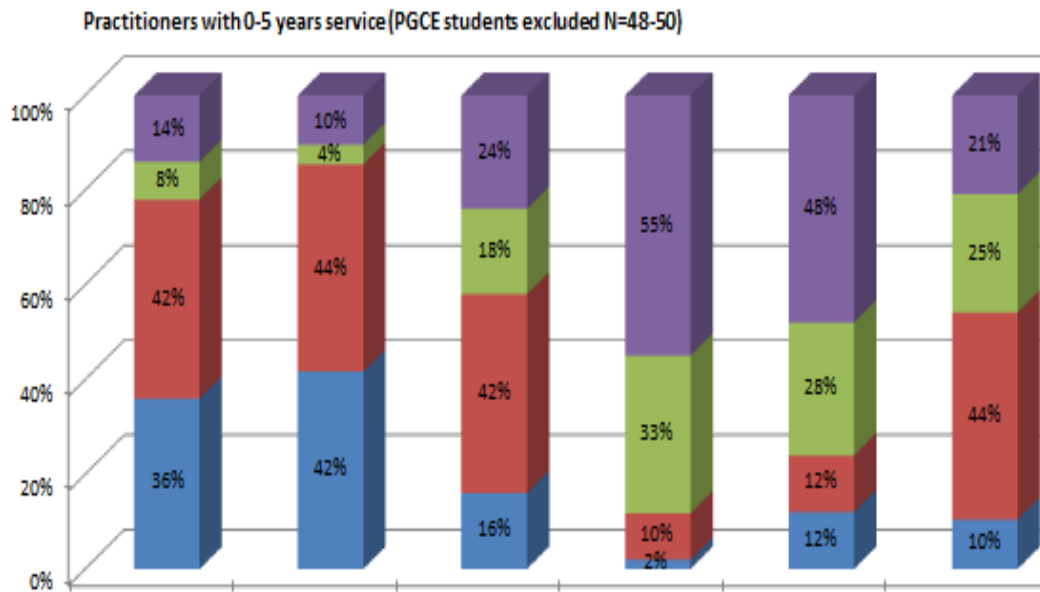
A further interesting comparison is that between early career practitioners (0-5 years' service) and more experienced colleagues (6+ years' service). As can be seen in graph 6.5, more experienced colleagues reported more probilingual practice, or inclination to implement probilingual practice, and less counterbilingual practice than early career practitioners. Also noticeable is the greater tentativeness with which the early career practitioners reported engaging with certain practice. They were far more likely to state they were *inclined* to undertake particular practice or not, as opposed to more experienced colleagues, who tended to be more definite that they did or did not conduct particular practice. The results will have been skewed by the presence of teachers in training in the early career practitioner sample, not least because several of these had not so far needed to develop practice in relation to bilingual pupils. When this cohort is removed from the early career sample, while the degree of tentativeness clearly diminishes, the patterns of response still remain broadly similar (see graph 6.6). This would suggest that longer service increases confidence or certainty about one's practice, and practitioners are more likely to describe practice which tolerates, if not actively encourages use of home languages in the classroom, than that of practitioners earlier in their career. This finding may be unsurprising in the light of findings by NALDIC (2009) that EAL in ITE and CPD is variable across England (see section 2.4). From the description of the teacher training landscape with regard to EAL as described in section 2.4, and sense of unpreparedness for teaching bilingual children among new teachers (Safford and Drury, 2013), it is

likely many practitioners find their own way in terms of conceptualising pedagogy appropriate for their bilingual learners. The findings from this survey may be reassuring to the extent that experienced practitioners report being more probilingual in their practice. This finding also aligns with that of Vaish (2012), to the extent that more experienced practitioners in the Vaish study too, more readily embraced probilingual perspectives (see section 4.2).

Graph 6.5 Experienced vs early career practitioners survey responses



Graph 6.6 Early career practitioners excl. teachers in training survey responses



In summary, the quantitative analysis of the survey indicates that:

- Practitioners on the whole favoured probilingual practice (encouraging reading in the home language and home language use in the classroom), but were less inclined to actively design activities which focused on the different languages of the classroom.
- Pupils believed teachers were less probilingual in their actions than teachers reported was the case. However, pupils were more likely to say that teachers in KS1 would design activities which focused on the different languages of the classroom, and help bilingual children learn their home language.
- This reflects differences which emerged between practitioner responses, depending on whether they taught in early years / KS1 or

KS2, where the former were more likely to favour probilingual and reject counterbilingual practice, and were more likely to say they engaged in probilingual practice, rather than state they were inclined to do so.

- More experienced practitioners (6+ years' service) were more likely to favour probilingual practice, and less likely to favour counterbilingual practice, than early career colleagues. They were also more certain about their practice.

There are several ways in which structuration theory can provide some explanation for these findings. Firstly, the differences between practitioner report and pupil experiences of teacher practice can be regarded a consequence of Giddens's distinction between practical and discursive consciousness (1984: 7). This suggests that what practitioners are able to describe discursively is an interpretation, rather than a true reflection, of actions carried out in practical consciousness.

Secondly, the differing patterns of responses across different groups of practitioners hints at the complexity of social systems, where social groupings may cut across individual schools. The quantitative results suggest a distinction between KS1 and KS2 cultures, with different emphasis on the support, or at least tolerance, of home language use and learning.

Finally, the difference in responses from early career and more experienced colleagues, suggests the routinisation of practice, at least in relation to bilingual pupils, is a long-term one, occurring over years. Routine, according to Giddens, is a correlate of a 'sense of ontological security' (1984: 376), and so it is

noteworthy, that the more secure practitioners feel in their practice, the more likely that practice is to be probilingual.

6.3 Analysis at the level of individual schools

In this section I analyse in some detail the data collected from the four schools – WY1, WM1, WM2, L1 - which participated in each aspect of the research:

practitioner survey and discussion group, and pupil survey and discussion group.

In doing so, I aim to address the research questions in two ways. Firstly, the analysis will build on the attempts in sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.6 to tag themes as pro- or counterbilingual, and provide greater clarity in the way practitioner discourse represents additive or subtractive bilingualism. The more ambiguous themes of ‘well-being’ and ‘surface-level learning / use of HL’ are of particular interest here. At this point the analysis moves from the identification of themes, to analysis of talk in action, and so the term ‘repertoire’ will substitute that of ‘theme’ (see section 3.4).

By analysing how the repertoires are used in interaction, it is possible to observe what their use achieves in conversation. In particular, I am interested in their role in advancing or hindering probilingual arguments.

Secondly, the reflections on pupil discussion group data complement the comparisons of practitioner and pupil survey data in section 6.2 to address the third research question: *To what extent do pupils’ perceptions of teaching staff practice align with practitioner accounts?*

In the survey, pupils indicated that on the whole their experience was less probilingual than practitioner responses suggested would be the case. A

contradiction also arose in the pupil survey where the majority claiming their KS1 teacher would *both* encourage use of the home language in class *and* insist on English use. While theories relating to the concept or repertoire allow for such contradiction, the following analysis of discourse data helps illuminate what underlying practice might be that gives rise to these contradictions.

Finally, I synthesise the findings from all data sources with particular reference to structuration theory to identify the rules and resources at play within the structure of the school.

In order to frame the analysis of the pupil group discussion data, I used the outcomes of the comparison of survey quantitative data to identify areas of interest for that particular school. I focussed on discrepancies between practitioner accounts of practice, and pupil reports of their experience, in order to resolve the questions arising from these.

The analysis for each school is set out in the following format:

- A brief description of the school, providing contextual detail on size, location, pupil characteristics etc
- A comparison of the practitioner and pupil survey data for the school
- An analysis of the interplay of repertoires in the practitioner discussion groups, and what this might suggest about the degree to which probilingual or counterbilingual practice is favoured by the participants
- An analysis of pupil description of practice from the discussion group and survey free text data

- A synthesis of findings at each school to describe the school ‘structure’, drawing on the theories set in chapter 3.

The data from the practitioner discussion groups reproduced in the analyses in this section and section 6.4 represent more or less all of the talk which related to bilingual pupils use and learning of home languages. Omitted is researcher talk setting up the activities for discussion, and practitioner talk as they discussed in pairs the statements and enquiry frameworks which was repeated in the whole group discussions.

Pupil talk reproduced in this section is also all the talk from their discussion groups which referred to teacher practice in relation to bilingual pupils use and learning of the home language. Relevant data is presented as extracts of conversation, or is paraphrased.

In sections 6.3.1-6.3.4 I describe the data for each individual school. In section 6.3.5 I summarise the role that different repertoires play in moving discourse in pro- or counterbilingual directions. In section 6.3.6 I synthesise pupil descriptions of teacher practice across the four schools to establish an overview of pupil experience against which practitioner perspectives can be compared, in order to answer the third research question: *To what extent do pupils’ perceptions of teaching staff practice align with practitioner accounts?*

6.3.1 West Yorkshire One (WY1)

Overview

With 402 pupils on roll at the time of data collection, WY1 is a larger than average 4-11 primary school. It is located on a social housing estate, two miles

from the town centre, and the proportion of pupils eligible for pupil-premium is below average. Around half the pupils are of white British heritage, with the remainder coming from a range of ethnic backgrounds. Of the 109 pupils in Years 5 and 6 participating in the survey, 31 reported being able to speak a language other than English when they first came to the school. The languages they spoke were:

Polish x5 pupils	French x4
Irish x2	Jamaican x2
Spanish x2	Chinese x1
Gaelic x1	Malayam x1
Panjabi x1	Urdu x1

In the closest inspection to the data collection (6 months after my school visit) WY1 was deemed to be ‘good’ (grade 2).

Nine practitioners completed the survey: one deputy head, one assistant head, three classroom teachers with middle management responsibilities, two classroom teachers, and three teaching assistants.

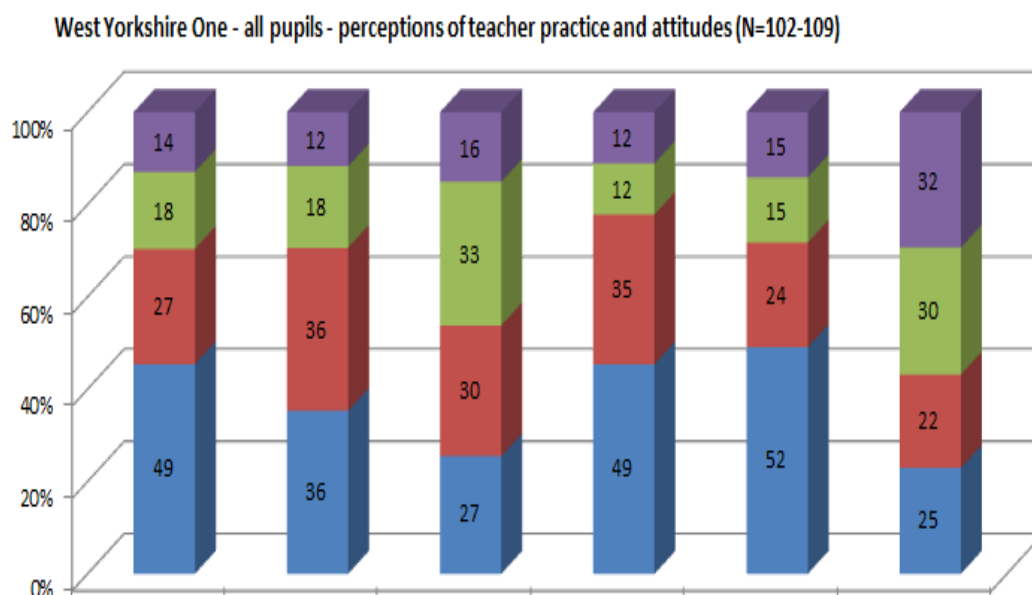
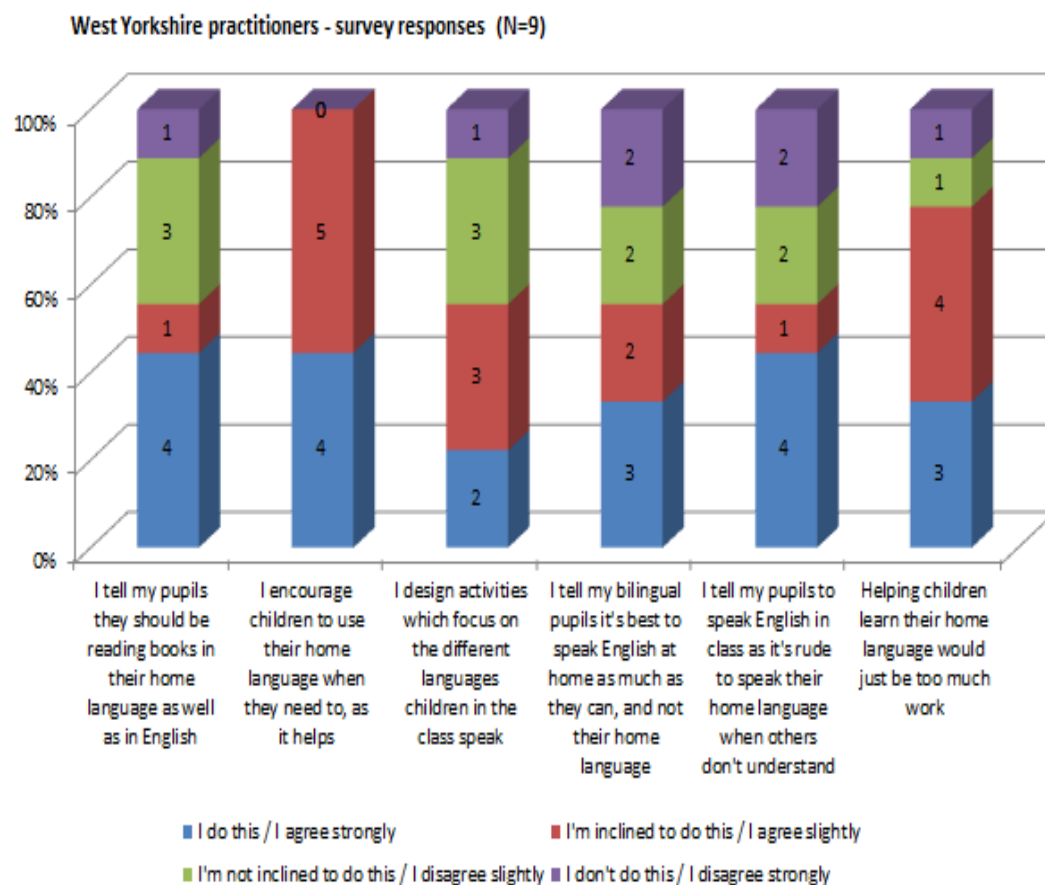
Declared practice by survey participants was, on the whole, balanced between probilingual and counterbilingual. Exceptions to this were practitioner claims to encourage or be inclined to encourage children to use their home language when they need to (9/9) as probilingual practice (item 2), while on the other hand seven out of nine agreed with the statement that helping children learn their home language would be too much work (item 6).

A contradiction also arises in the survey data, where two of the practitioners claiming to encourage home language use in the classroom also stated they tell their pupils to ‘speak English in class as it’s rude when others don’t understand’ (see also section 6.2). This contradiction is also reflected in the pupil data, where a number of participants stated teachers both encouraged home language use and insisted on English in the classroom. A smaller proportion of pupils believed their teachers would encourage home language use in the classroom (69%), against all practitioner respondents who stated they did this or were inclined to do so.

With regard to item 6, it is interesting that considerably more pupils (57%) felt that their teachers would not have said ‘helping children learn their home language would just be too much work’, than practitioners agreeing with the statement (22%), indicating either a different interpretation of the wording, or greater perception among the pupils that teachers were ready to support them to learn their home language.

One other area of discrepancy centred on the statement ‘I tell my bilingual pupils it’s best to speak English at home as much as they can, and not their home language’. Around a half of teachers reported doing this or being inclined to do it. Over three quarters of pupils believed their teachers would have said this, and 25 out of 31 bilingual pupils were sure or thought their teachers would have said this (graph 6.7).

Graph 6.7 WY1 practitioner vs pupil survey responses⁹



⁹ Columns in the pupil graphs relate to the corresponding column and so statement in the practitioner graph

■ I'm sure my KS1 teachers would have said this ■ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this
■ I think my KS1 teachers would not have said this ■ I'm sure my KS1 teachers would not have said this

In other respects, pupil responses more or less tally with practitioner reports of practice. Noticeable are the comparable proportions of practitioners and pupils claiming practitioner encouragement to read books in the home language, as well as practitioner requests to speak English in the classroom.

Areas of interest emerging from the surveys to explore in the analysis of the pupil discourse data for WY1 therefore are:

- the degree of teacher encouragement for pupils to use home languages or English in the classroom
- the degree and ways in which practitioners help bilingual pupils learn their home language
- practitioners' encouragement of the use of English in the home.

Analysis of practitioner discussion group data

Practitioners taking part in the discussion group for WY1 were: 2x teachers (Yr 4 and Yr6), 3x teaching assistants (Foundation, Yr3, and Yr6), 1x EAL support teacher. In the transcription, these practitioners are labelled: T4, T6, TAF, TA3, TA6, and EAL accordingly.

The conversation among WY1 practitioners began strongly counterbilingual, with some introduction of the 'HL as beneficial' and 'accepting responsibility' repertoires. In extract 6.1, T6 begins by rejecting the suggestion of the 'HL as subversive' repertoire. Her next step, while conceding there are times when

bilingual children should use their home language (17), is to suggest limits to this by quantifying use of languages (13, 114). T6 maintains a clear ‘primacy of English’ position through allusion to ‘language ability as English language ability’ (ls 8-9), and English as *the* language (ls 15-16).

Extract 6.1

Repertoire

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 T6 We said we didn’t think it was rude for</p> <p>2 children to speak their home language but I do</p> <p>3 think there are times when it’s not appropriate</p> <p>4 to speak their home language</p> <p>5 R Yeah</p> <p>6 T6 So I think there are times when it’s</p> <p>7 appropriate and it is useful and they should.</p> <p>8 But when you’re teaching in English and their</p> <p>9 language development</p> <p>10 R Yeah</p> <p>11 T6 I don’t always think it’s appropriate that, let’s</p> <p>12 say, for example we’ve got a lot of Polish</p> <p>13 children in the class. Sometimes I don’t want</p> <p>14 them to all sit together and discuss everything</p> <p>15 in Polish because I don’t think it’s good for</p> <p>16 the language</p> | <p>1. Quantifying use of languages</p>
<p>2. Support for using HL</p>
<p>1. Lang ability=Engl lang ability</p>
<p>1. Quantifying use of languages</p>
<p>1. Engl as the language</p> |
|---|--|

In extract 6.2, T4 picks up the repertoire of ‘primacy of English’ (‘quantifying use of languages’), and in response to a question about when it is an advantage for pupils to use their home language, shifts to the ‘HL as beneficial’ repertoire temporarily, before moving to ‘well-being’ and finally ‘utility’.

1	T4	I would have to agree with every single word	
2		of that. Definitely there are times when it is an	
3		advantage and there are times when it isn't	1. Quantifying use of languages
4	R	Are there particular reasons why you think it	
5		would be good when they speak Polish, when	
6		it is an advantage? Are there particular times?	
7	T4	Well sometimes there are certain activities you	2. Benefits of using HL
8		want to know their opinions, their thoughts , so	
9		I think it's so restricted if they haven't got	9. Well-being
10		English, and I do think it's unfair if they sit	
11		and they can't contribute to the lesson because	1. Engl as the language
12		they haven't got the language . Sometimes I	
13		want them ... but this is hard because I don't	1. Ability in Eng as prerequisite for academic performance
14		speak Polish, so to use competent children ,	
15		bilingual children to help to translate and so	8. Utility of HL in classroom
16		still feel involved	

The progression in the conversation therefore, firstly indicates that T4 is sensitive to the emotional impact on bilingual pupils of immersion in English, but secondly that the role of the home language is to enable participation until such time as the pupils can speak English ('the language'), and that during that period 'competent children' should translate on their behalf. Taken as a whole, the passage references to transitional bilingualism. It is the first instance of several examples a description of transitional practice in the practitioner discourse data, which aligns with the findings of Kenner et al (2008) in schools in Tower Hamlets (see section 2.6).

Also interesting in extract 6.2 is the way that the ‘well-being’ and ‘utility of HL use’ repertoires appear together with ‘primacy of English’ to support the transitional position. A demand not to use the home language is only ‘unfair’ until such time as a child can speak ‘the language’, and is aided by ‘competent’ children, who translate. This highlights the more problematic nature of tagging the ‘well-being’ and ‘utility of HL learning/use’ repertoires as either probilingual or counterbilingual. The role they play in this extract in supporting a transitional perspective, contradicts at least the fourth principle of a probilingual curriculum: sustained support for bilingualism (see section 1.2.5).

At this point (extract 6.3) TA6 takes up the conversation, drawing on the ‘well-being’ repertoire to provide a rationale for allowing bilingual children to use their home language, moving the conversation away from T4’s ‘benefits of using HL’ for learning.

Extract 6.3	Repertoire
1 TA6 I think it's frustrating for them as well if they	9. well being
2 know – quite often they will know what they	
3 want to say but because they haven't got the	
4 English language they can't actually put that	
5 into English. So, as T6 says, it's quite nice	9. well-being
6 for them to be able to say to their friend, to	
7 speak it and then for somebody more	
8 competent in English to be able to say it. And	
9 then it's their morale , as, you know, if I was	9.well-being
10 in their country and somebody told me don't	
11 ever speak your home language, I'd be really	
12 upset.	9.well-being

In this way, the brief reference to the pedagogic value of home language use to develop and express opinions and thoughts (extract 6.2, lines 7-8) is superseded by a 'well-being' argument of allowing children to use their home language. Both arguments can be considered probilingual to the extent they express a position that provides opportunities to use the home language, but the emphasis is different. The former utterance focusses on learning, whereas the second focusses on affect. It is interesting to note too, the amount of emphasis applied to each position. The utterance, 'you want to know their opinions, their thoughts' stands alone as a reference to cognition, whereas the well-being argument is exemplified in five instances over the course of the two extracts, and diverts attention away from an exploration of the learning and cognitive benefits of home language use and learning. This contradistinction between learning and affect in discourse, also occurs in the group discussion at L1, and is something I discuss more fully in sections 6.3.5 and 7.2.2.

The discussion then focuses on reasons why the practitioners believed WY1 to be good at supporting bilingual children. Here they refer to communal events organised by the school, such as the summer fair, where parents ran traditional stalls from their own culture, country based themes in assembly, and 'one world week'. These activities celebrated cultural diversity, but not linguistic diversity, or a focus on supporting language use and learning (Wallace and Mallows, 2009).

In extract 6.4, participants go on to discuss the statement 'teachers should design activities which mean children can learn each other's languages in the classroom'. TA6 acknowledges the value of doing this, justifying the practice once again through the 'well-being' repertoire.

Extract 6.4

Repertoire

1	TA6	I know that we are very very busy and in an	4. acknowledging responsibility
2		ideal situation it would be absolutely	
3		fantastic to do that. But it would be lovely,	9. well-being
4		you know, imagine what the children would	
5		actually get out of that. But practicalities – is	
6		it – how feasible is it really to do it. But does	
7		that mean we should think, ‘well we can’t do	
8		that so, never mind’, or should we actually	
9		think, stop and think ‘right’. Shall we even, I	
10		don’t know, once or two or three times a	
11		year, perhaps we could set some time aside	
12		to actually do that. We need to actually think	4. acknowledging responsibility
13		about it.	

The shift to ‘acknowledging responsibility’ repertoire represents an opportunity to discuss probilingual practice. However, the repertoire is not taken up by any other participant, bringing this part of the conversation to an end.

At this point (extract 6.5), I attempt to prompt further discussion on practice by asking participants if they could describe activities they had used in the classroom where bilingual children shared or demonstrated their home language skills.

Participant responses highlight that the focus of foreign language teaching is mainstream languages, and when I ask why, T6 refers to ‘the requirements’, invoking the ‘locating responsibility away’ repertoire, and the ‘utility of languages outside of school’ subtheme.

Extract 6.5

Repertoire

1	TA3	I don’t think there ... the children have
---	-----	---

2		Italian lessons and they have French and	
3		they've done Spanish as well in school. But	
4		that's more drawing on the languages that	
5		the teachers can speak, that we can share	
6		with the children rather than the children	
7		being able to showcase their own language	
8	R	Can I ask why you think that is	
9	TA3	Because it's easier	
10	T4	Because it's the one the teachers know, it's	
11		easier isn't it	
12	T6	And it's part of their you know it's part of	3. wider structural factors
13		the requirements as well to teach French or	
14		Spanish	
15	EAL	Because a lot of people go on holiday to	8. utility of languages outside of school
16		those particular countries, you know like	
17		France or Spain. So that could help them as	
18		well, just to communicate when they go on	
19		holiday.	
20	T6	Yeah, it's good for high school as well you	8. utility of languages outside of school
21		see if they go up to key stage 3.	

For the second time in the discussion the 'utility of HL learning/use' repertoire is invoked in a way which moves the conversation away from a focus on the value of home languages as an aid to and object of learning (see also extract 6.2).

Until now the conversation had progressed from an initial 'primacy of English' perspective (extracts 6.1 and 6.2). Concessions to home language use are made, but primarily in terms of children's 'well-being' (extract 6.3). TA6's attempt to 'acknowledge responsibility' in extract 6.4 is not supported by any intervention by other practitioners in the group, and my prompt for examples of home language use or learning in the school failed to elicit any, but was met with reasons why

20		when we have assembly	
21	TA3	Yes	
22	T6	We do	
23	T4	We sometimes let them welcome and we've	10. using HL phrases
24		all we have we have actually done a few	
25		things ... do you remember when we've	
26		done erm like we've each chosen a country	
27	TA3	Yes, one world week	
28	T4	Yes we've done it then because sometimes	2. support for learning
29		we they might even learn a song. We have	HL
30		done that but it's a bit random isn't it	4. acknowledging responsibility

Practitioners' talk of practice therefore, indicates they do engage with home languages and allow its use, but that purposes for doing so are for 'well-being' and settling in, rather than as a medium or object of learning. T4's intervention in extract 6.6 hints at a readiness to develop probilingual practice.

I will now reflect on the practitioner data presented here, along with pupil descriptions of practice from the discussion group and survey free text boxes to consider the extent to which pupil experiences in WY1 align with practitioner accounts of practice. The analysis is framed by the areas of interest emerging from the comparison of practitioner and pupil survey data for WY1.

Analysis of pupil discussion group data

The degree of teacher encouragement for pupils to use home languages or English in the classroom

The practitioner discussion indicates an acceptance that bilingual children's use of the home language may be necessary for their learning, but that on the whole this should be kept within limits in the classroom. Its value is seen in enabling

children to participate in the lesson and not to feel left out, but not to play a role in their language development or learning per se:

Sometimes I don't want them to all sit together and discuss everything in Polish because I don't think it's good for the language. (T6, extract 6.1, lines 13-16)

This point was reinforced in the pupil discussion, where I asked if pupils felt comfortable speaking Polish, or if they felt there was pressure to speak English, prompting the following exchange:

Extract 6.7

- 1 P1 I think it's comfortable to speak Polish, but then if you speak too much
- 2 Polish
- 3 P2 They get [inaudible]
- 4 P1 Yes the teachers sometimes don't like pupils speaking too much
- 5 P3 Like the teachers would encourage them to speak a bit of Polish
- 6 and English as well
- 7 P4 But they like speaking a lot like they'll tell them to speak English

Practitioners also suggested that home languages are permitted for the value that translation provides in enabling bilingual children to 'feel involved' (extract 6.2, line 16). Pupils' accounts reflected this 'utility of HL use' repertoire, within a general discourse of 'primacy of English' (extract 6.8)

Extract 6.8

- 1 P1 Our teacher actually encourages us to speak - like cause the Polish
- 2 pupils sometimes speak Polish in class but our teacher says sometimes
- 3 that... speak in English. But sometimes when they don't understand in
- 4 um English they ask like the person who's Polish and doesn't
- 5 understand English is like told to like teach [inaudible]

- 6 P2 They say [inaudible]
7 P3 The teacher asks to translate yeah
8 P2 Yeah

The exchange in extract 6.8 followed a prompt, asking if teachers designed activities using the languages children in the class speak. Further probing here led pupils to talk about the greeting words they had learned, again reflecting practitioner accounts that they do encourage the learning of home languages, but mainly around greetings (extract 6.6, lines 12-13).

Whereas translation is described as a means of communication between bilingual pupils in the early stages of English and fluent English speakers in the classroom, there was little reference in the practitioner or pupil discussion groups that practitioners saw the wider value of the home language for learning. This point was underlined by one pupil's description of a writing activity:

Extract 6.9

- 1 P When we were doing some of our writing Tessa and Stefan and
2 another boy in our class who speaks Polish they drew like they had to
3 draw like a picture.

In this example, it appears an opportunity is missed to encourage home language use to complete the task, the teacher preferring to encourage a pictorial response instead.

Pupil descriptions of practice in the discussion group therefore reflects the surface level use / learning of languages, and utility of home languages repertoires in the practitioner discussion groups.

The degree and ways in which practitioners help bilingual pupils learn their home language

While practitioners did discuss allowing pupils to use their home language in the classroom, this was in terms of ‘well-being’, ‘surface level use’ and ‘utility’.

When it came to the ‘HL use and learning as beneficial’ repertoire, there were two references to this in the whole discussion, which were hedged by ‘primacy of English’ and ‘well-being’ repertoires. None of the practitioner talk referred to learning home languages beyond school, and pupil discussion data suggested this was not an area practitioners took a particular interest in. Of the five bilingual pupils in the discussion group, one could read Arabic, but not his home language, Urdu, two could read Polish, and the other two could not read her home languages (Polish and Urdu). In response to the question ‘have your teachers asked you about reading in [home language]?’ two said no and one yes, although here a request for an example failed to elicit one. In extract 6.10, a bilingual pupil follows up an initial claim that his teacher approves of reading in the home language with an argument for focussing on reading in English:

Extract 6.10

- 1 R Have your teachers spoken with you about reading in your home
2 language?
3 P Yes
4 R Imran¹⁰?
5 P Well she says it is good to read in your home language but she wants
6 us to read in English as well, especially if English is not your strongest
7 language because you like if you’re going to live in Britain you need

¹⁰ All pupil names have been replaced with pseudonyms

- 8 to know how to read English cause reading you like need for
 9 everything basically but it is good that you should read in your home
 10 language as well
 11 R Ok and um do you read Urdu?
 12 P No I can't read Urdu
 13 R Arabic
 14 P I can read Arabic but I don't understand it
 15 R Ok. Has your teacher ever asked you about reading in Arabic?
 16 P Umm no

Although 57% of WY1 pupils believed their teachers would not have found helping them learn their home language too much work, the discussion group prompts failed to elicit examples of practical ways teachers achieved this.

Practitioners' encouragement of the use of English in the home

Pupils' responses to questions about teachers' encouragement of the use of English or otherwise in the home suggested this was an area teachers did not take a particularly strong view on, nor were inclined to engage with. P3's reference to teachers' encouragement of home language use in extract 6.11 is at most tentative, 'they might have mentioned it'.

Extract 6.11

- 1 R So ... has your teacher ever said .. or have any teachers said speak
 2 English at home or have they said anything about what you speak at
 3 home
 4 P1 No
 5 P2 No
 6 P3 Well they might have mentioned it. but well [unclear] more Polish in
 7 our class so our teacher says that um speak speak your home language
 8 but don't like speak English as well so you have like a bit of balance

9 between the both languages

However, further attempts to explore this aspect of practice elicited a response which suggested language use at home was not something practitioners encouraged one way or the other, as illustrated in extract 6.12.

Extract 6.12

- 1 P1 I think it's good for like the Polish children and people like Imran and
2 Hanan who don't speak well who speak um a different language at
3 home
4 R Mm
5 P1 Um . to . speak their home language but the teachers don't really ask
6 and tell them to speak their home language

School structure

Giddens suggests rules and resources are the key features of structure. Rules provide a framework for action in particular contexts. The rules of social life are 'techniques or generalizable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practices' (Giddens, 1984: 21). The rules I identify in this part of the analysis, therefore, provide a partial picture of the framework within which the participants operate in their day-to-day.

Resources are 'allocative' (material or physical resources), or 'authoritative' (such as the organisation of school life), and, in Giddens's terms, are a means for domination (Giddens, 1984: 33). As I apply this to the analysis, the potential becomes apparent for participants to use resources to control activity in the classroom and school in relation to children's learning and use of home languages, such as the suggested amount of time that could be spent on home-

language based activities (extract 6.4, 110-11), and the focus on mainstream languages in the MFL curriculum (extract 6.5).

Nevertheless, conducting the analysis against the framework of structuration theory, the limits of the data collected for the study became clear. While there was enough data to allow inferences to be made about the structural principles to which practitioners operated, additional observation data would have helped substantiate claims made in this regard. As it stands, the analyses regarding school structure should be treated as providing tentative insights.

To some extent the subthemes identified in the thematic analysis embody rules (in the Giddens sense) of the school structure. Some can be taken at face value. The ‘quantifying use of languages’ subtheme, for example, reflects an understanding on the part of practitioners (extracts 6.1 and 6.2) and pupils (extract 6.7) that there are particular times when home language use in the classroom is allowed, and when it is restricted. The invocation of the ‘well-being’ repertoire in extracts 6.2 and 6.3, hints at two additional rules:

- all children should be able to participate in classroom interaction: *‘it’s so unfair if they sit and they can’t contribute’* (extract 6.2 110-11)
- children should feel happy at school (extract 6.3).

Participants also state criteria for languages which are acceptable for the foreign language curriculum (extract 6.5): languages which teachers know, are ‘easier’, ‘part of the requirements’, and the languages of holiday destinations. This last ‘rule’ also provides insight into practitioner use of languages as a resource to maintain ‘control of information and knowledge’ (Giddens, 1984: 261).

Considering home languages which are not mainstream European languages to be the focus of the foreign language curriculum would upset practitioner 'domination' (Giddens, 1984: 33). In this regard, the statement that these are 'the languages teachers know' is telling. Otherwise, the use of home languages is within controlled circumstances: assembly, 'visual cues' of common phrases, when bilingual children join the class and greetings (extract 6.6). Even at the point the suggestion for activities in which children learn the home languages of the classroom is taken up (extract 6.4), the suggested allocation of time for it 'once or two or three times a year (lines 10-11)' controls access to this resource for pupils so it is manageable for practitioners.

A second interpretation for this suggestion proposing only a modest allocation of time, is that it reflects the inertia to change practice, as described in section 3.4.

Summary

From an opening position of 'primacy of English', the conversation among practitioners at WY1 explored ways in which home languages were permitted, used and displayed in the school. However, at each turn a substantial probilingual repertoire was introduced ('HL use and learning as beneficial', 'acknowledging responsibility'), other repertoires were deployed which limited the exploration of probilingual practice. It is apparent in the practitioner group discussion at WY1 that the 'well-being' and 'utility of HL learning / use' can be used as part of the process of moving conversation away from consideration of more substantial probilingual practice.

In terms of pupils' experiences aligning with practitioner accounts, the transitional nature of home language use in the school apparent in practitioner talk is also

evident in pupil descriptions of practice. In particular, restrictions in home language use and translation for integration and class management purposes, described by practitioners, were reinforced in pupil accounts.

Neither in practitioner talk nor pupil accounts was there any sense that practitioners took an interest in language use at home, or encouraged literacy development in the home language, notwithstanding survey responses which suggested a different stance. On the other hand, both practitioner and pupil accounts provided examples of ways teachers encourage the learning of home languages at a surface level.

6.3.2 West Midlands One (WM1)

Overview

With 350 pupils on roll, WM1 is an average-sized 4-11 primary school. It serves a relatively deprived urban area consisting of Victorian era terraced housing. The number of pupils eligible for pupil premium is above average, as is the number of pupils joining the school at irregular times of the year. The majority of pupils come from a Bangladeshi background, one third are from a Pakistani background, and the rest come from a wide range of ethnic groups, including children of recent arrivals from eastern Europe. The number of pupils speaking English as an additional language is well above average, a large number of whom are at an early stage of learning English. All but one of the year 5 and 6 pupils who completed the survey spoke a language other than English when they began school. The languages they reported speaking were:

Bangladeshi x33 pupils

Urdu x18

Arabic x11

Mirpuri x9

French x3

Gujerati x1

Italian x1

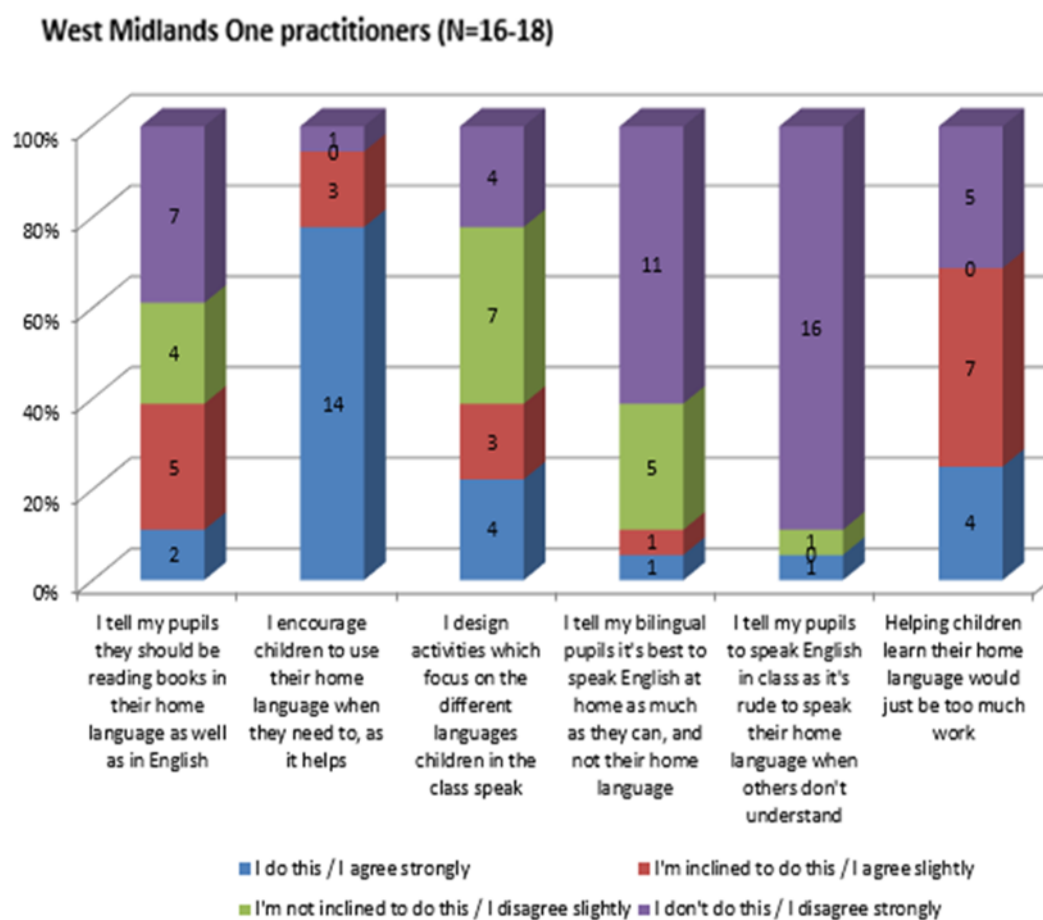
Panjabi x1

The closest inspection to the school visit took place 10 months later, and rated the school as ‘requires improvement’ (grade 3). The detail of the inspection report describes underlying good quality of provision (pupils attending the school through from reception to Year 6 ‘make rapid progress’), against an overall background of turbulence, including secondment of the head teacher to another role, and subsequent staffing issues. One of the grounds cited in the report for the grade 3 judgement was the fact that children with English as an additional language ‘often make slower progress in writing because they misunderstand the meaning of important words’.

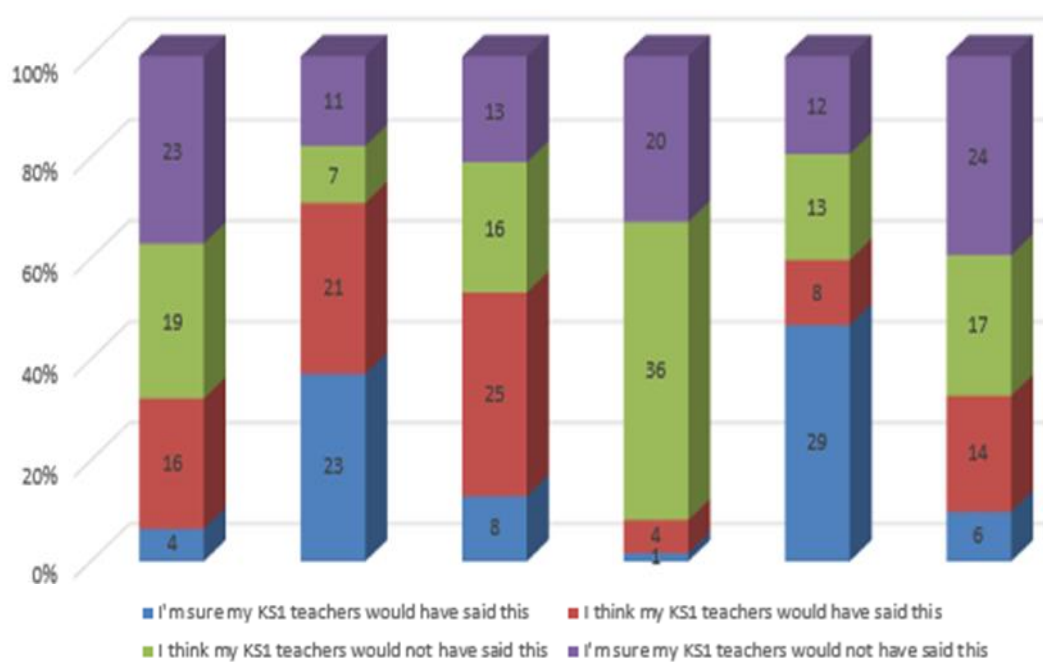
Eighteen practitioners completed the survey: one classroom teacher with middle management responsibility, eight classroom teachers, and 9 teaching assistants. Twelve participants completing the survey worked in EY / KS1, and six in KS2.

With regard to probilingual practice, it was only the encouragement of the use of the home language in class (item 2) that the majority of practitioners reported doing (14/18), seven practitioners stated they encouraged reading in the home language and designed activities using home languages, or were inclined to do so. This pattern of response was reflected in the pupil survey, albeit in a less pronounced way.

Graph 6.8 WM1 practitioner vs pupil survey responses



West Midlands One - all pupils - perceptions of teacher practice and attitudes (N=61-62)



Equally emphatically as teachers' claims to encourage the use of the home language in the classroom, were their reports not to tell pupils to speak English at home (item 4, nor insist on its use in the classroom (item 5), or be inclined to do so (16/18, and 17/19). In fact, WM1 practitioner reports to encourage home language use when necessary (item 2) and not to insist on English use in the classroom (item 5), along with WM2 (section 6.3.3), are the only cohorts where these two items correlate, suggesting a strong culture of allowing home language use in the school. This, however, was not substantiated by pupil responses, which, while aligning with those of teachers on item 2, diverged strongly on whether teachers told pupils to speak English in the classroom as it is rude to use the home language. Whereas 16/18 teachers claimed not to do this, more than 60% of pupils reported that they believed their KS1 teachers had told them to speak English. A greater proportion of pupils also felt their KS1 teachers would design activities that used the home language (33/62), than teachers reported to be the case (7/18).

Areas of exploration in the group discussions which suggest themselves from analysis of the survey data therefore are:

- ways in which practitioners encourage the use of home languages in the classroom
- what activities, if any, pupils could remember that teachers implemented that meant home languages were explored
- the balance between encouragement of the use of home languages and insistence on the use of English in the classroom.

Analysis of practitioner discussion group data

Practitioners taking part in the discussion group for WM1 were: the head teacher, inclusion manager, and 2x bilingual teaching assistants. In the transcription of the group discussion, these practitioners are labelled: H, IM, TA1, TA2 accordingly. The inclusion manager was new in post and this was her first time in a school of such linguistic diversity.

The discussion started with a series of ‘primacy of English’ arguments presented by TA1, in which she supported the encouragement of bilingual children’s use of English at home. Among the discourse data across all schools, extract 6.13 is the most consistently made argument for the ‘primacy of English’ without being tempered by other repertoires such as ‘well-being, referring as it does to ‘insisting on English use’, ‘quantifying use of languages’, and ‘language ability = English language ability’ subthemes.

Extract 6.13

Repertoire

1 TA1 Ok the one that we chose, I wouldn’t say the
2 way it’s phrased it’s better for EAL children
3 to speak English at home rather than their
4 home language. I agree with it but I don’t
5 agree with it being better I would say that we
6 encourage EAL children to use more English
7 at home but not sort of completely disregard
8 er their home language. So they still need to
9 use their home language but they also need to
10 add more English into their you know ‘cause
11 they only spend six hours at school. Now
12 I’ve got an example of this I’ve worked with
13 two brothers. One’s in Year 4 the other was

1. insistence on
English use
1. quantifying use of
languages

14	in Year 2 and the one in Year 4 is very shy	
15	and reserved and his communication he's got	1. language ability =
16	it all there but his communication skills are	English lang ability
17	not very good whereas with the younger one	
18	who is in Year 2 even though his ability isn't	1. language ability =
19	you know the same as his brother's his	English lang ability
20	communication skills are better it's because	1. quantifying use of languages
21	he's speaking more with his friends. You	
22	know he um I mean he might not be as	
23	academic as his brother but he's definitely	
24	getting his way around. So just before	
25	Christmas I said to the little one I said ooh	
26	your, you know you speak really beautiful	
27	English I said. If over the holidays you can	
28	play some games and things with your	
29	brother encourage him to speak a bit more	1. insistence on English use
30	English . And since he's come back even the	
31	class teachers noticed the difference so I've	
32	given him a bit of an incentive I've said, 'ooh	
33	10 house points each' they both got so that	
34	you know.	

TA1's position was not taken up by any of the other participants, and the conversation moved to discussing another prompt: 'it's rude for children to speak their home language in class when others can't understand what they're saying'. At this point the head teacher made a distinction between home language use which is subversive and that which is beneficial.

1	H	I think it depends on the context of what	
2		they're doing. I mean if they're talking in the	
3		home language about football and nobody	
4		else is, they're not paying any attention to	7. HL use as subversive
5		what they should be doing the task at hand -	
6		then yes that's right and that needs to be	7. HL use as subversive
7		addressed . But if they're clarifying	2. benefits of using HL
8		understanding and talking between them	
9		then that's an ideal opportunity to get things	
10		right and then to try and put it into English	8. utility of HL in the classroom
11		and to be supported in putting it into English	

The head teacher's comments in extract 6.14 reveal a reluctance to allow unconditional home language use in the classroom, but this seems to be conflated with off-task talking among pupils more generally. The intervention can be said to be probilingual on the whole, in as much as it refers to the use of the home language as an aid for learning, but 'the benefits of using HL' repertoire is tempered by the 'utility of HL in the classroom' repertoire, indicating again a position of transitional bilingualism, and also that translation into English is a form of control over what is discussed in the home language.

In extract 6.15 the head teacher continues the 'benefits of using HL' repertoire. However, the example provided by TA1 is interesting in the way it suggests the 'utility of HL in the classroom/school' perspective is embedded in school practice by the singling out of translation activity by bilingual children for praise and reward.

- | | | | |
|----|-----|---|-------------------------|
| 1 | H | So you know there are some classes where | |
| 2 | | there are two or three Slovakian children | |
| 3 | | who really do use their home language to | |
| 4 | | benefit them, you know, and to support each | 2. benefits of using HL |
| 5 | | other in their home language | |
| 6 | TA1 | But initially when they come in to school, I | |
| 7 | | think we do need that don't we, we need that | |
| 8 | | sort of person. Like we've got Monica in our | |
| 9 | | class, who's been in school for nearly three | |
| 10 | | years now, and she even translates for her | 8. utility of HL in |
| 11 | | grandmother. You know, she's such a gem | classroom/school |
| 12 | | basically she's amazing to have in the class. | |
| 13 | | I'll say, 'oh Monica, such and such has | |
| 14 | | come into the classroom, can you tell them | |
| 15 | | this is what the rules are and this is how we | |
| 16 | | do our reading diaries and learning our times | |
| 17 | | tables'. | |
| 18 | H | She's got a special award. She helps out in | |
| 19 | | the office and filling out forms. It's that | |
| 20 | | praising the language and the use of her | |
| 21 | | language isn't it | |

When the 'benefits of using HL' repertoire is introduced across extracts 6.14 and 6.15 as a way of supporting understanding and learning, it is noticeable that this repertoire is not built on, but is followed by 'utility of HL in the classroom/school' perspectives, thus underlining the transitional nature of home language use in the school, and ultimately the 'primacy of English' repertoire, with which the conversation began.

TA2's contribution to the conversation in extract 6.16 adds a perspective that a bilingual child's ability to use and learn the home language is dependent on their academic ability overall. In the case where children are not 'bright' or have a learning difficulty, English only is considered the more accessible route to learning for them (line 11), with home language use, again, being reserved for translation purposes to aid understanding.

Extract 6.16	Repertoire
<p>1 TA2 it's much more depend on the child as well</p> <p>2 you know because if the bright child it</p> <p>3 doesn't matter about that much languages</p> <p>4 they just pick up here and there my own</p> <p>5 children I use mother tongue at home but</p> <p>6 they are quite bright see so I didn't have no</p> <p>7 problem at all with the language barrier you</p> <p>8 know cause they picked up. But you know</p> <p>9 as I said it all depend on the child if the</p> <p>10 child's got learning difficulty so I think it's</p> <p>11 more English here and there also obviously</p> <p>12 the mother tongue on the top you know for</p> <p>13 child to get to understand you know what</p> <p>14 mum or teacher is saying you know</p>	<p>3. locating the issue with the child</p> <p>3. locating the issue with the child</p> <p>3. locating the issue with the child</p> <p>8. utility of HL in classroom/school</p>

As with the conversation in WY1, the direction of talk in the WM1 discussion group is from a position of 'primacy of English' to one of more engagement with and use of home languages with some reference to 'benefits of using HL'. This repertoire, however, is not developed in either case, rather the conversation is diverted away from any stronger probilingual perspective by the invocation of the 'well-being' and 'surface level use' repertoires in the case of WY1, and 'utility of home language learning / use' repertoire in the case of WM1 here.

Analysis of pupil discussion group data

Ways in which practitioners encourage the use of home languages in the classroom / activities that teachers implement that mean home languages are explored.

At no point in the group discussion did the practitioners discuss actively encouraging the use of home languages. The head teacher spoke in general terms about the benefits of using the home language (extract 6.14, lines 7-10), or it was a question of allowing discussion in the home language to continue where pupils had taken the initiative (extract 6.15, lines 1-5). In some parts of the discussion with pupils, practitioner reference to allowing home language use was echoed in pupil responses to probes about learning home languages in the classroom. In extract 6.17, children describe learning words from each other's languages, but they do not attribute this to practitioner instigation.

Extract 6.17

- 1 R Have you done any activities where you use different languages that
- 2 are spoken in the class?
- 3 P1 Yes
- 4 P2 Just like French, not our home language
- 5 P1 Only if there is a person in our class that can't speak English
- 6 P3 And then when they start to learn English
- 7 R Ok, have you learned any Urdu words in school
- 8 P2 No
- 9 P3 No
- 10 P2 We have learned a few Spanish words
- 11 R Have you learned any languages from any other children, or any words
- 12 from other languages?
- 13 P2 Yeah Bengali
- 14 P1 Czechoslovakian
- 15 P4 Ciao, ciao

- 16 R And who started the discussions
17 P2 Just randomly

In another part of the discussion, I asked pupils about teachers' interest in their reading in the home language (extract 6.18). This response suggests teachers taking an interest, but not actively encouraging reading in the home language.

Extract 6.18

- 1 R Is that something your teachers would have said to you?
2 P1 No no
3 P2 Not really
4 P3 No
5 R Has have any of your teachers said oh read in your home language or
6 are you reading in your home language?
7 P2 They've asked
8 P1 They've asked us but they haven't told us to

However, there were claims by practitioners in the survey free text that they not only allow the use of home languages, but also introduce activities which mean that home languages are to some extent explored:

displays in different language encourage children to communicate with children speaking the same language answering the register in different languages using pictures to understand what the child says (KS1 teaching assistant, survey free text entry)

We say 'hello' in different languages displays in different languages encourage other children who speak same language to speak and explain tasks answering register in different languages using picture clues to explain what a child says body language to express what you want

*children to do different cultural languages used in music other agencies
used to do cultural activities translators (adults) in school (sic: KSI
teaching assistant, survey free text entry)*

Similarly, pupils in the group discussion described specific practice which encouraged use and some learning of languages children in the class spoke (extract 6.19).

Extract 6.19

- 1 P1 And the teacher may print off the computer some words in their
2 language and
3 P2 And we have this thing that tells you what to do each day, like
4 Monday - in English it says assembly and then at the bottom it says in
5 Slovakian and we've printed that out and put it on the wall so they can
6 see
7 P3 And we've got a number line one, two, three and it says in English and
8 it says in two different languages
9 P2 And we had a Slovakian boy who came in year five and there was
10 someone in year six and the boy sort of helped him out cause like
11 translating
12 R So your teacher did put up some Slovakian words on the board ... on
13 the wall
14 P1 Yeah
15 R Did you all practice those words
16 P1 No
17 P3 I, I tried
18 P2 We tried to
19 P3 I know [pupils say some words in Slovakian, eg 'sportove']

The examples from the survey free text and pupil discussion group align with the repertoires used by the practitioners in their discussion group of 'utility of HL in

classroom/school’, but also represent a more substantial attempt to increase at least pupils’ familiarity with home languages spoken in the school, albeit at surface level.

The balance between encouragement of the use of home languages and insistence on the use of English in the classroom

Apart from TA1’s use of the ‘primacy of English’ repertoire in extract 6.13, ‘insistence on the use of English’ subtheme did not appear elsewhere in the practitioner group discussion. As discussed above, it appears home language use is permitted rather than discouraged, and for purposes of utility. Pupils’ comments in the group discussion (extract 6.20, lines 2-4) reflect an inclination on the part of some teachers to prevent home language use because others could find it rude. This is further elaborated on by P2 in line 21 when explaining why bilingual pupils speak less of the home language in KS2 than they did when they were in KS1, and who in fact adopts the ‘HL as subversive’ subtheme.

Extract 6.20

- 1 R Do your teachers say that it’s rude to speak in another language
- 2 P1 They would have
- 3 P2 They would
- 4 P3 They probably thought it [inaudible] have said it to my face though
- 5 R Do you think you spoke more of your home language in key stage one
- 6 in years one and two did you speak more of your home language than
- 7 you do now?
- 8 P1 No
- 9 P2 It’s probably half half cause um in key stage one as we didn’t know
- 10 English we had to learn it, and as we’ve been learning our own
- 11 language at home it’s the same difficulty as English
- 12 P1 Yeah
- 13 R So do you speak more English in school now than you did three years

- 14 ago?
- 15 P2 Yeah
- 16 P1 Yeah
- 17 P3 I think back to some teachers they know like probably the same
- 18 languages as us so they probably help us with that
- 19 R Are there any reasons why you don't speak your home language now?
- 20 P2 It's because other people around you they don't understand. They
- 21 might think your saying something rude or something - they don't
- 22 understand.
- 23 R Ok
- 24 P2 And they probably feel quite threatened by that

Where pupils mentioned teacher practice in response to the survey free text prompt, their comments corresponded to several of the repertoires emerging from the practitioner group discussion.

*They helped with English. They did not help me on my home language
(‘primacy of English’)*

My KS1 teacher help me with my home language (‘HL as beneficial’)

*The Teacher is helping you to speak english but if you can't the[n] you
have speak your language (‘utility of HL’)*

*The teachers developed language skills by using other kids who speak the
same language to translate (‘utility of HL’)*

School structure

Fewer rules are discernible in practitioner and pupil talk in WM1 than in the data for WY1. Circumscription of bilingual pupils’ use of the home language to specific circumstances (in this case to aid understanding – extract 6.14, 18)

appears again as a rule. Of particular interest here, is the reference to a range of resources to control pupils' home language use and promote the learning of English. These include awards, wall posters and bilingual children themselves. Children are said to be encouraged to use English at home with siblings (extract 6.13), and translate into the home language for classroom management purposes (extract 6.15). In both cases, practitioners refer to reinforcing the behaviour through praise and by providing the children with rewards. Claims to be deploying resources in this way, suggests the reinforcement of a message of the ascendancy of English over the home language in the school structure, and of the rule that home languages should only be used to aid understanding.

Similarly, reference to the use of multilingual calendars (extract 6.19) plays a role, not so much of encouraging the learning of home languages in any extensive way (pupils did not all practise the words), but affirming their presence and containing their use in the classroom to a manageable number of phrases.

Another point to be made from the analysis of WM1 is a suggestion that sometimes constraints and enablers for home language learning and use are not brought to bear particularly strongly. The pupils had no particular sense of practitioners' holding a view about language use at home (extract 6.18), in contrast to TA1's description of encouraging English use. The pupils also described picking up words of home languages from each other, without teacher direction (extract 6.17). At these times, the constraints and enablers of the other social systems children belong to, family and peer group, may have a greater influence on behaviour.

Summary

As with the opening of the practitioner group discussion at WY1, the initial contribution by TA1 draws strongly on the ‘primacy of English’ repertoire. Use of home language was not ruled out, but English use at home was ‘better’. The head teacher’s reference to the ‘HL use as subversive’ repertoire indicated freedom to use the home language in the classroom had its limits, and arguments which were put forward for allowing home language use were on both occasions followed by the ‘utility of HL learning and use’ repertoire. Again, the pattern of discourse is similar to that of the WY1 practitioner discussion, where opportunities to pursue probilingual discourse are diverted in a ‘utility of HL learning and use’, and therefore transitional direction.

Pupils’ descriptions of practice refer to school as a place where they do learn home languages, albeit at a surface level, that pupils pick up home language words and phrases from each other, and teachers also play an active role in this. On the other hand, pupils also describe limits to the use of home language in classroom interaction, and allude to an assumption among practitioners that use of the home language is only necessary until bilingual pupils are fluent in English.

6.3.3 West Midlands Two (WM2)

Overview

WM2 is a larger than average 4-11 primary school, with around 430 pupils on roll. It is located in an area of social housing, three miles from its city centre, and serves a mostly white British population. Other pupils come from a range of ethnic backgrounds, the next largest group being Black African. The number of pupils at the school eligible for pupil premium is above average. At the time of data collection, the school was experiencing a large increase in the number of children entering the school with English as an additional language, and was making efforts to adapt its provision accordingly. Of the 34 pupils in year 5 who completed the survey, nine spoke a language other than English when they started school. These were:

Swahili x3	Lingala x1
French x1	Jamaican x1
Portuguese x1	Shona x1
Albanian x1	

The data collection visit to the school took place within weeks of an Ofsted inspection, which rated the school as ‘outstanding’ (grade 1). The school was particularly praised for the ‘remarkably’ good knowledge of adults in the school of every child, making sure each pupil had an opportunity to achieve their best, regardless of background.

Eight practitioners participated in the survey: one deputy head teacher, one assistant head teacher, two classroom teachers with middle management

responsibility, and four classroom teachers. Six survey participants taught in KS2, and two in KS1.

The fact that practitioners in the survey seldom claimed to do any of the practices relating to bilingual pupils described by the survey prompts most likely reflects the fact that the school until very recently had had few bilingual pupils on roll. Indeed, before the group discussion began, the head teacher was keen to emphasise this fact:

Extract 6.21

1 H We are very much at the starting point with EAL because children,
2 because if they get into key stage two they're not below 2c. So we
3 haven't had any children who have had to actively do anything
4 additional EAL wise. We've got for the first time a large number in
5 our reception class but that's the biggest ever ... so we're really at the
6 starting point.

Nevertheless, organising learning for bilingual pupils was not a new experience for practitioners at the school - seven of the bilingual pupils in the survey had joined WM2 in KS1. For the head therefore, it was the numbers of bilingual pupils entering reception which was the trigger for greater interest in EAL pedagogy and support. Bilingual pupils' progress to date had met the school's benchmarks, and therefore not raised any concerns (or presumably particular interest) about the fact they were bilingual. Certainly, pupil reports of practice suggest that on the whole teachers veered towards probilingual and away from counterbilingual practice. While none of the practitioners who completed the survey ticked the 'I do this' box for any of the probilingual statements, six out of ten stated they were inclined to encourage bilingual pupils to read in their home

language, and use the home language in class when it helps, a proportion more or less in line with the overall pupil survey responses. Similarly, there was a correspondence between pupils who believed teachers would find helping bilingual children learn their home languages too much work (78%) as teachers who agreed with this statement (70%).

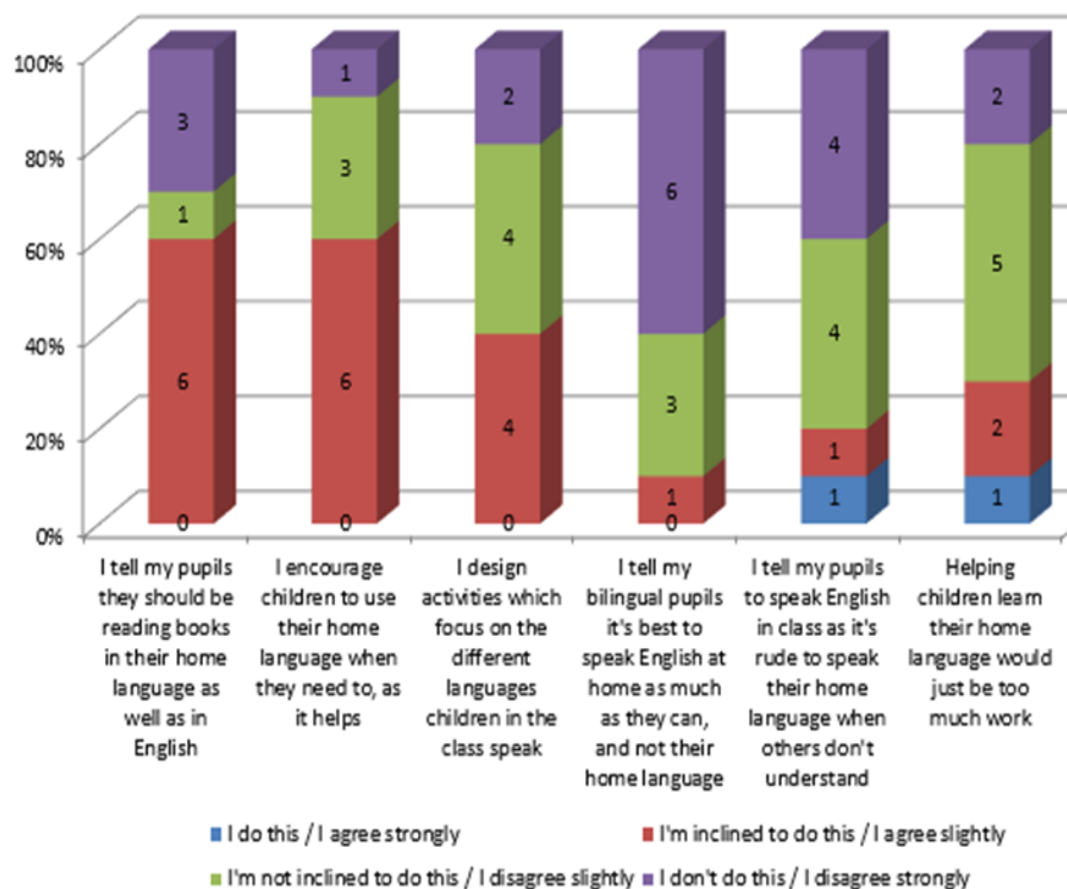
Discrepancies occurred over the question of whether teachers design activities which focus on the different languages of the classroom, where a greater proportion of pupils believed this had been the case, than of teachers who were inclined to do this. There is also a marked difference between the number of practitioners who do not or are not inclined to tell children to use English in the classroom because it's rude when others don't understand (80%), and the number of children who felt this was the case with their KS1 teachers (56%).

Areas of interest to explore when analysing the pupil data, therefore, are:

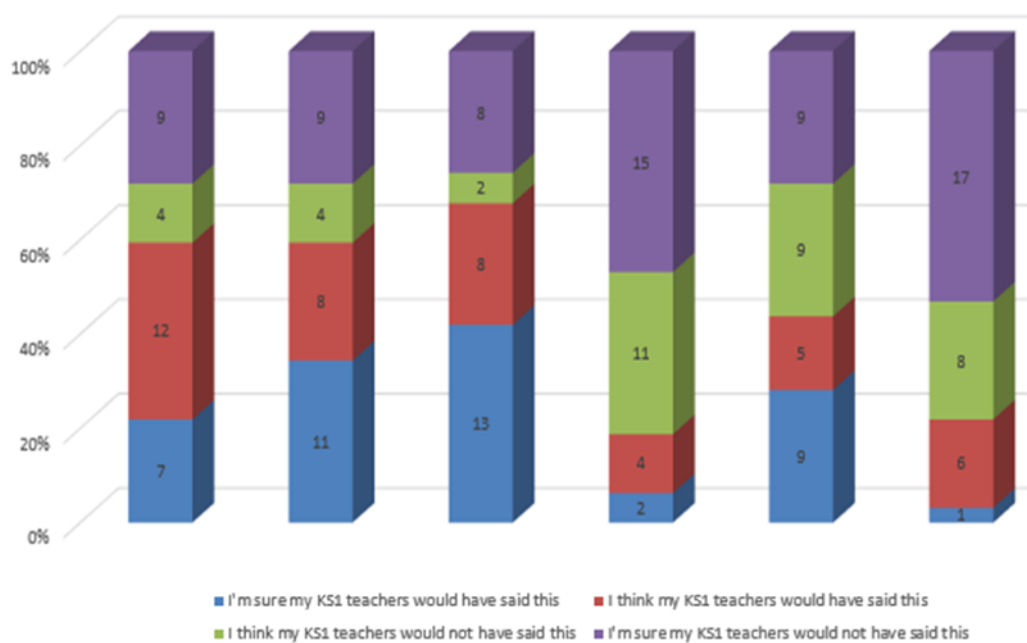
- the teaching and learning activities which pupils have experienced in the classroom which relate to home languages
- the extent to which practitioners discouraged the use of home languages because they found it rude if others didn't understand.

Graph 6.9 WM2 practitioner vs pupil survey responses

West Midlands Two practitioners (N=10)



West Midlands Two - all pupils - perceptions of teacher practice and attitudes (N=31-32)



Analysis of practitioner discussion group data

Practitioners taking part in the discussion group for WM2 were: the head teacher, EY/KS1 deputy head, KS2 assistant head, intensive support lead teacher, 1x classroom teacher: H, DH, AH, IS, and CT accordingly.

The discussion began with the intensive support lead teacher describing why she had chosen ‘teachers should design activities which mean children can learn each other’s languages’ as the statement she agreed with the most.

Extract 6.22

Repertoire

- | | | | |
|----|----|---|----------------------|
| 1 | IS | We were thinking basically ‘welcome’, ‘how | |
| 2 | | are you?’ as a kind of a PSHE. I think it’s | |
| 3 | | appropriate. Because quite often we don’t | 4. acknowledging |
| 4 | | really know the basics in language and if we | responsibility |
| 5 | | don’t the children aren’t going to are they. | |
| 6 | | So we just thought it would make them feel | 9. well being |
| 7 | | welcome. Because we have got things | |
| 8 | | around where they’re from around the | |
| 9 | | school, and it would be nice now to maybe | 4. acknowledging |
| 10 | | move to the next step and have some | responsibility |
| 11 | | language. | |
| 12 | R | All right | |
| 13 | H | You chose that one | |
| 14 | DH | I chose that one as well. I think it’s nice for | |
| 15 | | the children to be able to share some of their | |
| 16 | | home language. I know that in some classes | |
| 17 | | the children answer the register in their | 10. using HL phrases |
| 18 | | home language, and it’s just showing that | |
| 19 | | even those teachers that don’t speak the | |
| 20 | | language that they welcome it. | |

The first thing to note in this response is the appearance of the ‘accepting responsibility’ repertoire which recurs several times throughout the conversation. This may be expected given the head teacher’s earlier claim that the school is in the first stages of accommodating bilingual pupils in a significant way, and indicates its staff may be open to suggestions for practice contained in the prompt cards, and from the questions participants had already encountered in the survey. This position is also reflected in this statement from the survey free text box by a member of staff at WM2, which similarly echoes the ‘accepting responsibility’ repertoire:

I feel my teaching is not very accommodating as EAL isn't always highlighted ... this is food for thought!

The second thing to note in extract 6.22 is recourse to the ‘well-being’ repertoire to justify home language use in the classroom, and the ‘surface level use of HL’ repertoire to describe to what extent home languages should be learned. This repeats the pattern of talk encountered in the practitioner group discussions at WY1 and WM1. The head teacher, however, then introduces arguably the strongest probilingual argument from among the practitioner group discussion data, encouraging the use of the home language at home, for the benefit of bilingual pupils’ learning more generally.

Extract 6.23

Repertoire

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|----------------|
| 1 | H | As I say we’re so only developing this we’ve | 4. taking on |
| 2 | | had the training and that’s something that | responsibility |
| 3 | | came out of the training, not to encourage | |
| 4 | | the children to speak a bad model of | |
| 5 | | language at home, which may be English | |

6 and to speak a good model of their own 2. support for using HL
 7 language at home. That is something that the
 8 lady that came from minority groups support
 9 service said, and it gave me the confidence I
 10 had then to ... Polish parents that I had to
 11 see ... I had to talk to them and they were
 12 talking to their children. He said, 'no we try
 13 and speak English at home', and I said, 'no
 14 don't please actually speak', he said 'oh 2. support for using HL
 15 really'. I said, 'oh really make sure you
 16 speak a good model of language' and that is
 17 something that I wouldn't have been
 18 confident or if I'd known earlier.

It is noteworthy here that it has taken the intervention of an external specialist to provide the head teacher with the 'confidence' to encourage Polish parents to speak with their child at home in Polish, despite the fact that it is part of EYFS guidance (Standards and Testing Agency, 2013). It also reflects arguments advanced by Wallace and Mallows (2009) about the inconsistency with which these messages in EAL policy reach school leaders and practitioners.

In addition, the 'support for using HL' repertoire here is maintained unequivocally, without the qualification of counterbilingual discourse observed when the 'HL use and learning as beneficial' repertoire was invoked in the group discussion at WY1 (extracts 6.1 and 6.2).

In extract 6.24 DH continues the 'taking on responsibility' repertoire which shows sensitivity on the part of teachers to the importance of knowing about bilingual children's language development as a whole. This again reflects the specialist

guidance the senior team have received, although recourse to the ‘primacy of English’ repertoire at the beginning of this extract may show something of the persistence of counterbilingual perspectives.

Extract 6.24

Repertoire

- | | | | |
|----|----|--|-----------------------|
| 1 | DH | I’ve got some children in reception whose | 1. language ability = |
| 2 | | language development is quite slow and | English lang ability |
| 3 | | those children are also EAL learners. And | |
| 4 | | we’ve spoken to their parents to ask what | 4. taking on |
| 5 | | their children’s language development is like | responsibility |
| 6 | | in their own language just to see if they are | |
| 7 | | developing normally in their own language | |
| 8 | | and that they’re not just, they’re ... and then | |
| 9 | | it will show that they are just being slow to | |
| 10 | | take on English. But their normal language | |
| 11 | | development is ok so | |

The appearance once more of the ‘taking on responsibility’ repertoire in extract 6.24 indicates a readiness to adapt practice to accommodate bilingual pupils better. This is followed, again, by an example of strong probilingual practice (extract 6.25).

Extract 6.25

Repertoire

- | | | | |
|---|----|---|------------------|
| 1 | H | Our school is very good | |
| 2 | CT | I wish we were better | 4. acknowledging |
| 3 | DH | Our school is very good we’re just starting | responsibility |
| 4 | | out aren’t we | |
| 5 | DH | And so for this one we actually you know | |
| 6 | | we’ve got some groups like Polish boys | |
| 7 | R | Mm | |

8 DH And we do say to them that in reception that
 9 they can talk in their own language that we 2. support for using HL
 10 encourage them to play in their own
 11 language because it's developing their
 12 imagination which is skills that they need to
 13 develop not just you know to help their
 14 language.

Until this point the conversation indicates an understanding of the importance of home language use and learning for bilingual children and represents of the four practitioner discussions reported in this section the most clearly and consistently probilingual. Nevertheless, as with the practitioner discussions at WY1 and WM1, the conversation here takes an apparent turn towards transitional bilingualism. Extract 6.26 shows an underlying perspective that encouragement to use the home language is only a consideration while bilingual pupils are developing English language skills. In terms of thematic analysis applied to the rest of the data, there are no key words or phrases in extract 6.26 which make a repertoire easily identifiable. While the key words 'rude' and 'sarcastic' point to the 'HL use as subversive' repertoire (line 19), the head's claim 'that's down to the children, not the language' (line 21) negates the repertoire. Nevertheless, AH and H make a distinction between what should be acceptable in primary school and secondary school. While precisely what that difference should be is not clear, the implication seems to be that bilingual children in primary should be freer to use their home language, but in secondary 'that would change' (line 10). There is also an implication that the teacher-pupil relationship is more intimate in the primary phase ('it's knowing your own children', lines 16-17). This may also explain to some extent the appearance of the 'well-being' repertoire, echoing the inspection

report finding that adults in the school had a ‘remarkably good knowledge of every child’.

Extract 6.26

Repertoire

- 1 CT It's rude for children to speak their home
2 language in class when others can't
3 understand what they're saying. It's about
4 appreciation of the community and that
5 people all have something to offer whatever
6 people have to offer and get something from
7 it
- 8 R mm yeah so it it's a wider issue of respect
- 9 CT yeah
- 10 AH I wonder what age that would change as
11 children got older you know
- 12 H Hm I can see where you're coming from
- 13 AH If you were teaching in secondary
- 14 H When they're actually and teachers are sat
15 there saying, 'now hang on a minute'. I think
16 at the primary level but I think really it's
17 knowing your own children. And if you've
18 got a group of girls that are doing that and
19 just being quite sarcastic or rude about the
20 teacher you would know. But that's down to
21 children, not the language isn't it. It's down
22 to how you perceive the children.

While none of the talk in extract 6.26 can be assigned to any of the repertoires identified among the rest of the data, it as a whole represents a transitional perspective on bilingual pupils' home language use, assuming as it does a time in

a child's school career when speaking in the home language is no longer necessary.

Analysis of pupil discussion group data

The teaching and learning activities which pupils have experienced in the classroom which relate to home languages

The head teacher's assertion that WM2 was at the beginning of its journey to develop practice to accommodate bilingual pupils, was reflected in the discussion group and survey free text entries by the absence of descriptions of practice which focussed on home languages. Only one reference was made to such activity: answering the register in home languages (extract 22, line 17). In spite of 13 pupils in the survey claiming their teachers would have designed activities using home languages, there were also no examples of this type of practice given in the survey free text. From the discussions with pupils, there was one example of a teacher encouraging a bilingual child to share their home language with others (extract 6.27)

Extract 6.27

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| 1 | R | Maybe the bilingual children answer this one. Did teachers back in key |
| 2 | | stage one did teachers ever do anything with your languages or did |
| 3 | | they do an activity where you ever had to speak about your language? |
| 4 | P1 | no |
| 5 | P2 | they just I remember when they ask you what language you were |
| 6 | | speaking and then they ask you to speak a little for them but most |
| 7 | | people got embarrassed |

Elsewhere in the conversation with pupils, it appeared that practitioners in the school provided rich language learning experiences. The children spoke of the

French they had learned in year one, and of the Japanese and Maori they were learning with their current teacher. In this case, however, the teacher was introducing activities in languages with which they were already familiar themselves (Ofsted, 2005). Probes about teacher interest in children's home languages, however, suggested that there was not much exploration of these in lessons. Extracts 6.28 and 6.29 illustrate pupil responses to questions about teacher interest in pupils' home languages.

Extract 6.28

- 1 P1 Well I remember when the Miss Jones our year one teacher she taught
- 2 us French
- 3 P2 Yes she did
- 4 R And what did she say? Did she talk to you about your Albanian?
- 5 P1 No
- 6 R She didn't?
- 7 P1 No she said she just teached us French and then
- 8 R Ok Joshua, do you speak another language?
- 9 P3 Yes Swahili
- 10 R ok and what did your teacher say about speaking Swahili at home
- 11 P3 well she didn't really ask about that
- 12 R Ok
- 13 P4 I think my teacher wouldn't ask about that because she didn't ask me

Extract 6.29

- 1 R Have you learned to read in Albanian?
- 2 P1 Kind of I can kind of but not that much I've got a book at home
- 3 R And your parents read to you in Albanian?
- 4 P1 Yeah
- 5 R And did your teacher say anything about reading Albanian when you
- 6 were in key stage one?

7 P1 err

8 P2 They didn't really know she speaks Albanian

The picture emerges from the pupil group discussion, therefore, that interest in children's home languages was not a consistent feature of their knowledge of every child, and that home languages were not a consideration when planning teaching and learning activities, despite the school focus on foreign languages elsewhere in the curriculum.

The extent to which practitioners discouraged the use of home languages because they found it rude if others didn't understand.

While the majority of practitioners in the survey indicated they would not tell children not to speak their home language because it is rude, pupils were more likely to say that teachers would have said this. In extract 6.26 practitioners tended to conflate speaking in the home language with speaking in class generally when the teacher did not wish it to happen, and that certainly as bilingual children progressed through school and their English improved home language use would then be seen as potentially undesirable: 'I wonder what age that would change as children got older you know' (extract 6.26, lines 10-11). Comments from the pupil discussion group suggest that some pupils at least perceived their teachers as not wanting them to speak in the home language because it is rude if others don't understand.

Extract 6.30

R would your teacher have said that

P1 Yes

P2 No

P1 I think she would have because if you were speaking your own language and

you were saying something mean then they wouldn't know what you were saying

Nevertheless, extract 6.30 shows that in the discussion group children sometimes seemed to impose their sense of what was right in terms of home language use in relating teacher practice, making it difficult to know in this instance whether it was P1 or their teacher who believed bilingual children might be saying something detrimental to others when talking in the home language. The same ambiguity arises in extract 6.31, which confirms earlier observations of a lack of interest on the part of teachers in home languages, but does not suggest the teacher in question would have closed down the use of the home language because it was rude. Rather, the impression recurs of a desire for general control by teachers of pupil talk in the classroom, as already identified in extracts 6.1 (WY1) and 6.14 (WM1).

Extract 6.31

- 1 R Now did you used to help him with Swahili in the class
- 2 P1 We used to speak to each other in that language
- 3 R And did the teacher encourage you to do that
- 4 P1 No
- 5 R And did she mind that you spoke Swahili
- 6 P1 Well she did say stop talking start working
- 7 R Ah right, because you were talking when you should have been
- 8 working. But did she mind you speaking Swahili or did she tell you
- 9 it's better to speak in English?
- 10 P1 I don't think she would have I think
- 11 P2 I don't think she would have because if the person only speaks that
- 12 language they would have told them speak English because - and
- 13 there's this little boy in reception he speaks Polish and there's this
- 14 little girls she speaks Polish and they communicate together

School structure

The head teacher's statement that the school was at a point of change in relation to the teaching of bilingual pupils at the beginning of the group discussion, was underscored by the differences between practitioners' probilingual talk (in the light of recent specialist guidance) and pupil experiences of lack of interest in their home languages. At the very least teacher discourse indicates a willingness to change in the face of a changing school demographic, signalled by the recurrence of the 'accepting responsibility' repertoire. The head teacher highlights pupil attainment as an indicator that change needs to be made ('if they get into key stage two, they're not below 2c' – extract 6.21 12). Means of achieving this, and so rules of the school structure, appear to be close monitoring of teaching and learning (Ofsted report), close liaison with parents (extracts 6.23, 6.24, Ofsted report), drawing down specialist expertise (extract 6.23, Ofsted report), and knowing children well (extract 6.26, Ofsted report).

While practice as described in the group discussion appeared to align with, or accept the implications of the messages about probilingual practice, nonetheless pupils' own accounts suggested practitioner limits on home language use (extract 6.30), ascendancy of mainstream European languages (extract 6. 28), and lack of interest in home languages (extracts 6.28 and 6.29). The unintended consequences (Giddens, 1984: 14) of the suppression of home languages at school, as established in the review of evidence in chapter one, are that bilingual children's home language skills atrophy, and they do not fulfil their bilingual potential. What is visible to the school as a result of such practice, however, is the success of all

pupils (none achieving below 2c), confirmed by the official inspection grade of ‘outstanding’. To this extent, there is no impetus for change in practice. Yet the practitioners in the discussion group showed an openness to change, and the head teacher drew on specialist expertise as a resource to review and change practice. It would appear, while there are structures which maintain inertia in practice in WY1 and WM1, in the case of WM2 review and change are part of the structure.

Summary

The ‘accepting responsibility’ repertoire featured strongly in the WM2 practitioner group discussion. This may well be linked with the fact that practitioners, given a strong lead by the head teacher, were embarking on a new phase of development with regard to EAL, and were open to suggestions from specialists, whether in the form of minority support training the school has brought in, or the issues my own research brought to their attention. Practitioner talk included reference to surface level language learning, but was also strongly probilingual in comparison with the other schools included in this analysis: encouragement to speak home language at home, reference to cognitive benefits of bilingual children using the home language at play. However, there was a perspective that home language use would become less important as a child progressed through school phases, and, as with WY1 and WM1, talk pointed to a transitional position.

In contrast to practitioner descriptions, pupils’ experience of teacher interest in their home language knowledge or use was variable. While pupils had clear recollections of foreign language activities they had engaged in, in school, none of these involved home languages. There is some evidence to suggest that

practitioners allowed home language use in the classroom, but that it would be restricted, as part of what appears to be part of a general control of pupil talk.

6.3.4 London One (L1)

Overview

L1 is situated in a relatively advantaged location in north London. It is a junior school (age 7-11), partnering a feeder infant school. Nearly two thirds of the 340 pupils come from a wide range of ethnic groups, and a similar proportion speak English as an additional language, with around one in ten at early stages of learning English. Of the sixteen pupils who completed the survey, three reported speaking a language other than English when they started the school (fifteen had attended the infant school). The languages they reported speaking were:

Bangladeshi, French, Jamaican, 'Trinidadian'.

The closest Ofsted inspection of the school took place two years after the data collection visit. This deemed the school to be 'good' (grade 2), consistent with the previous inspection, five years earlier, and under the same head teacher.

Eight practitioners completed the survey: one assistant head teacher, one classroom teacher with middle management responsibility, five classroom teachers and one teaching assistant.

In the survey, a majority of practitioners reported encouraging or being inclined to encourage their pupils to read in the home language and use the home language in the classroom. Pupils' responses as to whether their KS1 teachers would have supported these activities, follows broadly a similar pattern. The greatest differences occurred on items four and five. On the question of whether

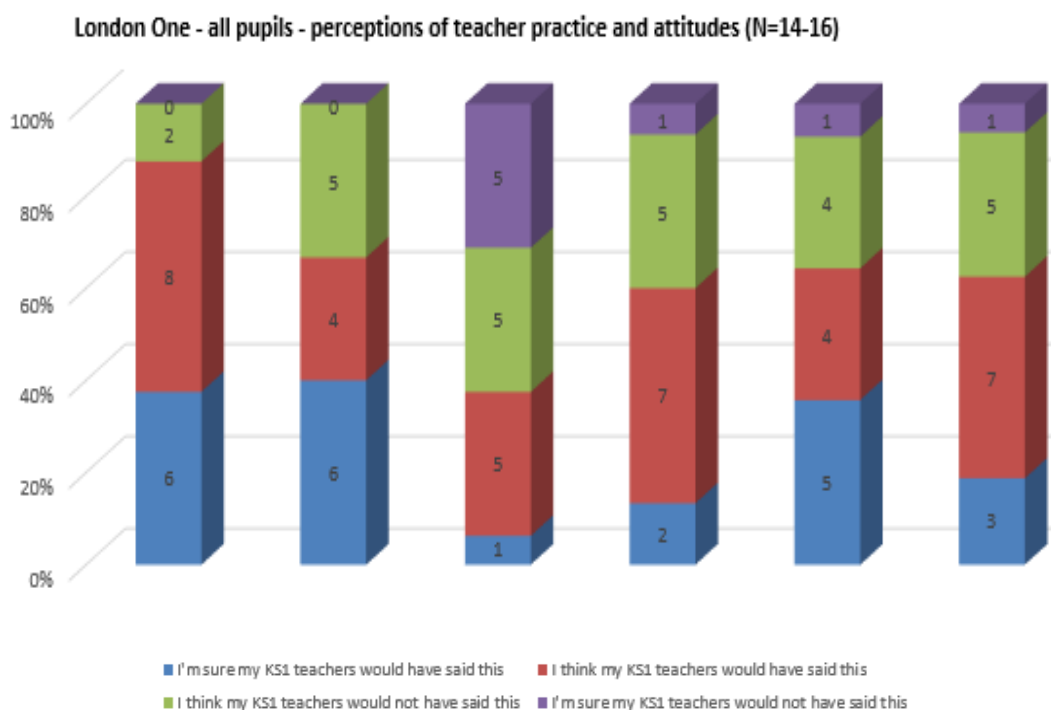
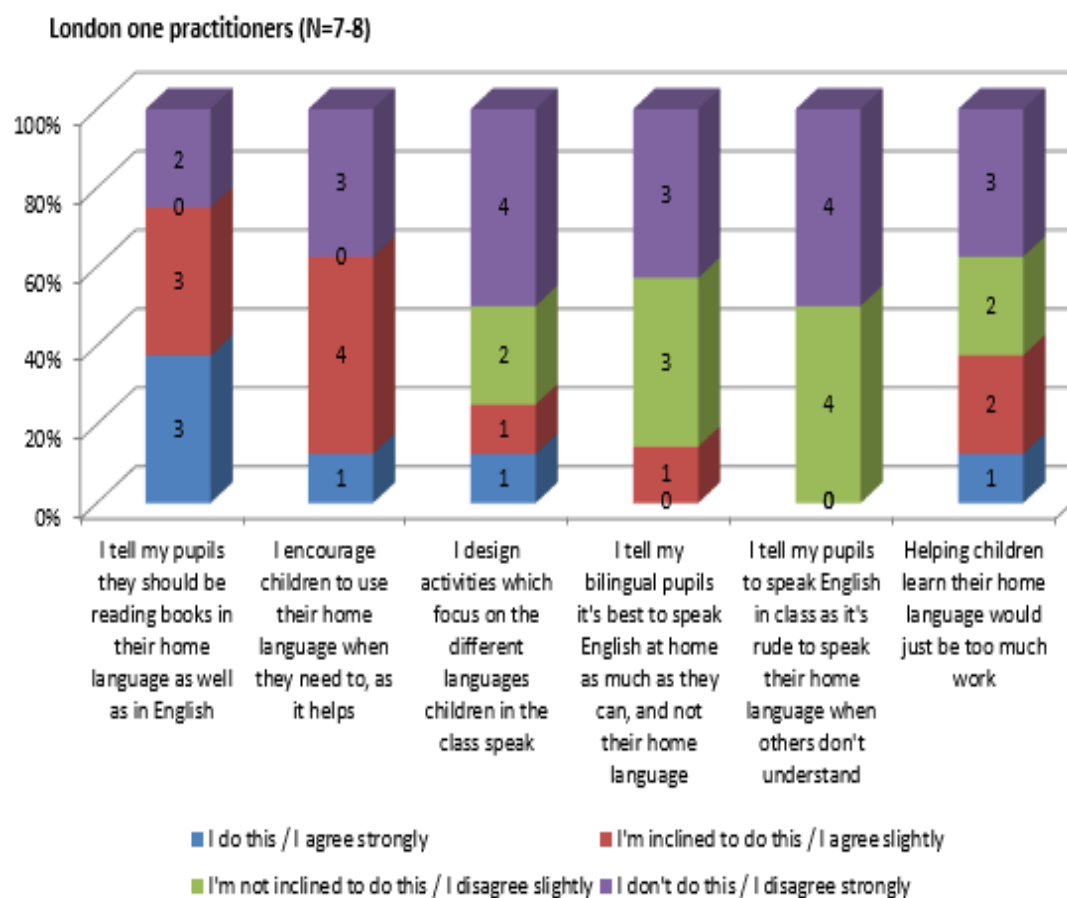
practitioners encouraged the use of English over the home language at home, only one practitioner said they did this, the other seven reporting that they did not or were not inclined to do this. This contrasted with 9/13 pupils who said they thought their KS1 teachers would have said this. With regard to item five, all eight participating practitioners reported that they did not or were not inclined to insist on the use of English in the classroom as it is rude when others don't understand, whereas 60% of pupils believed that this had been the case in key stage one. Going against the trend of the study sample as a whole, in this school a greater proportion of the participating pupils at L1 believed their teachers would say that helping bilingual children learn their home language would be too much work (10/16), than of teachers who agreed with this statement (3/8). Such discrepancies, however, can be explained in this case by the fact all that the practitioners participating in the survey were from the junior school, and therefore none represented the infant school, whose teachers the pupils had been prompted to think of when completing their survey.

Nevertheless, in order to maintain consistency with the other school level analyses, I will focus on the areas of difference in the practitioner and pupil survey to guide the analysis of pupil data:

- the extent of practitioner encouragement of the use of English at home, as opposed to the home language

the balance between encouragement of the use of home languages and insistence on the use of English in the classroom

Graph 6.10 L3 practitioner vs pupil survey responses



Analysis of practitioner discussion group data

Unfortunately, a substantial part of the recording of the practitioner group discussion for L1 was lost due to a technical fault with the recording equipment. The data reproduced here is from the part of the discussion focussing on enquiry frameworks, recorded on a second device. Practitioners taking part in the discussion group for L1 were three year five classroom teachers, who are identified at T1, T2, T3 in the transcriptions below.

In extract 6.32, the participants are considering enquiry framework 4, which suggests sharing with bilingual pupils, information about their progress in developing language skills. T1 here picks up the ‘well-being’ repertoire implied in the enquiry that understanding their progress over time would help bilingual pupils be more confident about their ability to achieve on a par with monolingual peers. In this instance, ‘well-being’ is used to support an argument for probilingual practice.

Extract 6.32

Repertoire

- | | | | |
|----|----|--|---------------|
| 1 | T1 | It was nice for the children to hear. It was | 9. well-being |
| 2 | | more of a sharing activity than ... Does it | |
| 3 | | improve their enthusiasm for language | |
| 4 | | learning? For example an exercise to sort of | |
| 5 | | see how they perceive themselves | |
| 6 | T2 | Thinking about a lot of them I feel that a lot | |
| 7 | | of them would put themselves down | 9. well-being |
| 8 | T3 | Yeah | |
| 9 | T1 | Yeah just because a lot of them all the | |
| 10 | | children ... you can look at the top year of | |
| 11 | | your school and look at their past two to | |
| 12 | | three years and actually work out the | |

13		average of their past success plot that so	
14	T2	mm	
15	T1	I thought that so I think it would be	4. acknowledging responsibility
16		interesting probably to and it is I think	
17		important for them maybe if they have lower	
18		expectations of themselves and maybe	9. well-being
19		they're not, or we're not pushing them	4. acknowledging responsibility
20		enough	
21	T2	Or celebra... sort of helping them	10. celebration

It would be fair to say that participants have been led into the use of the well-being repertoire in extract 6.32, given the focus of the enquiry on children's confidence. However, the well-being repertoire is one which recurs in the conversation. In extract 6.33, the participants are discussing enquiry 6, which suggests practitioners explore and encourage bilingual children's reading habits in their home language. What is interesting here is the way the 'well-being' repertoire is used in conjunction with the 'locating responsibility away' repertoire to suggest teachers should not apply pressure on bilingual children to read in their home language. T1's suggestion that this is exactly what teachers do when it comes to English, is an opportunity to move the discussion onto the 'support for learning HL' repertoire. T2, however, rejects the argument, not outright, but with recourse again to the 'well-being' repertoire, 'it would be nice to see who feels comfortable' (lines 12 and 13). T2 then completes this part of the conversation with reference to 'HL learning as beneficial repertoire' modified by 'surface level learning of HL'.

- | | | | |
|----|----|--|-------------------------|
| 1 | T2 | I think we obviously do a lot of reading and | |
| 2 | | they record what they read for their English | |
| 3 | | books. And I suppose that those that | |
| 4 | | normally read Russian books or stuff they do | |
| 5 | | that anyway. So unless in terms of, you | 9. well-being |
| 6 | | don't want to force children if they don't | 3. locating the issue |
| 7 | | want to read in their own language | with the child |
| 8 | R | mm | |
| 9 | T2 | There's that thing of 'oh you have to read' | |
| 10 | | and if they don't want to then it's sort of | |
| 11 | | going to | |
| 12 | T1 | But you ask them to read in English | |
| 13 | T2 | Yeah, but I suppose it would be nice to see | 4. acknowledging |
| 14 | | who would feel comfortable like doing a | responsibility |
| 15 | | little survey around the class and sort of | 9. well-being |
| 16 | | finding out who does read at home in | |
| 17 | | English and in their own language so that we | |
| 18 | | know. And then if they do then just | |
| 19 | | encourage that and for them to record that | 2. support for learning |
| 20 | | evidence for us and sort of celebrate it | HL |
| | | | 10. celebration |

At the point at which T1 rejects the idea that bilingual children's L1 literacy development should be pursued with the same attention as it is for English, she is implying different values are applied to community languages and English, and so challenges the 'primacy of English' repertoire. The fact T1 does not take this further in the conversation suggests that this may be a perspective that is not popular and not worth investing effort in pursuing. At this point, I prompted

further, asking the participants if they felt knowing more about children's literacy practices at home would help them with their own planning or understanding children's progress. The response by T2 in extract 6.34 again reverts to the 'locating responsibility away' repertoire.

Extract 6.34

Repertoire

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 T2 Yeah I don't think you'd sort of reap the</p> <p>2 return as much yeah because a lot of the</p> <p>3 time. You don't always know what they're</p> <p>4 doing at home and they might write down</p> <p>5 things that they've just got their parents to</p> <p>6 fill in. Or you just don't know or if they did</p> <p>7 the homework you don't know how much</p> <p>8 help they've got on it. So you, whereas in</p> <p>9 school we can see exactly what they're</p> <p>10 doing so yeah, it's tricky.</p> | <p>3. unreliable support at home</p>

<p>3. unreliable support at home</p> |
|--|--|

In extract 6.35, the teachers discuss the possibility of linking with a complementary school to develop a bilingual curriculum for pupils, based on enquiry 2: *What are the opportunities for developing a bilingual curriculum for our pupils?* Firstly, T1 uses the 'locating responsibility away' repertoire to justify not taking the idea forward ('that would be a question for Jim (head teacher) I think', line 3), enabling them to then voice support for the suggestion 'it's not something we would you know veto' (lines 5 and 6). T1 then hint at the 'school focus on HL as something difficult and onerous' repertoire, but questioning the amount of time it would take. This is reinforced by T2, who suggests there is work to be done in getting other stakeholders to agree. The suggestion is finally

Analysis of pupil discussion group data

The extent of practitioner encouragement of the use of English at home, as opposed to the home language

From the group discussions, there was no indication on the part of the teachers that English use was encouraged at home. In fact, in extract 6.31, it appears the idea of exploring bilingual children's language use at home is a novel one.

Similarly, from the pupil data, there is little to suggest teachers took a particular interest in language use at home. The exchange in extract 6.36 followed the pupils estimating the survey outcomes for the statement 'it's best to speak English at home as much as you can, and not your home language'. Both teams of pupils had suggested that this was likely. I tried to explore why they believed this.

Extract 6.36

- 1 R Ok and why do you think that the teachers would not have said speak
2 your home language at home
- 3 P1 Maybe because when they go to school because they're speaking
4 English, so it'll be easier for them to speak more fluently in school
- 5 R Ok
- 6 P2 I think that maybe the teachers might even speak their own different
7 language at home so it might be kind of unfair if children can't speak
8 English and the teachers can
- 9 R Ok. Were any of you encouraged just to speak English at home or did
10 any of your teachers think that it would be good that you spoke your
11 home language at home
- 12 P3 Yes some of the teachers were quite impressed that we could speak
13 different languages
- 14 P2 My cousin she could only speak Italian and they said um try to speak
15 more ...
- 16 R More English at home

As with pupils' comments in extract 6.26 (WM2), it appears the children at the beginning of the exchange are speculating more on how teachers feel, than reporting what they have heard teachers say. From P3's intervention (lines 12 and 13), there is some indication of interest by practitioners in home languages, before P2 appears to confirm the pupils' response to the statement, that where teachers do mention language use at home, that tends to be in favour of more English. However, it is not clear from what P2 says whether the practitioners in question were talking about speaking more English at home or in the school.

The balance between encouragement of the use of home languages and insistence on the use of English in the classroom

From the analysis of both practitioner and pupil data for L1 so far, it would appear that English use is encouraged over that of the home language, but also that there is no strong direction on the part of teachers away from home language use. Of the three responses provided in the survey free text, one participant provided a general (ie not bilingual specific) description of language development activities in the classroom, one referred to 'using the home language in class, bilingual dictionaries', and an early career classroom teacher, in response to the statement 'I allow students to use their home language in completing class work', responded:

I don't but would happily try! - I don't talk to parents enough about their language - I don't embrace it enough in class - would be nice to have non-English texts in class libraries not just school libraries

As in extracts 6.32 and 6.33, there is a recurrence of the 'acknowledging responsibility' repertoire here, and a reflection that some teachers are prepared to

allow and even support the use of home languages in their classrooms. Two of the six pupil survey free text responses alluded to the fact pupils were free to speak their home languages, eg:

you can speak your language whenever you want to (L1 pupil survey)

As with the other three schools in this part of the analysis, however, there was no indication of more robust engagement with the home languages pupils in L1 spoke. In extract 6.37, P1 alludes to surface level use of home languages in the school, but also picks up on the message of possible deeper learning of home languages from the discussion group and my own prompts, to clarify that she does not feel this is a feature of school life in her experience.

Extract 6.37

1 P1 We only had like a day or two or maybe a few signs around the school
2 that help other children. Maybe they've put welcome on the door
3 people go 'oh look at that that's the language I speak at home', but
4 they never actually give you a specific activity to do with your
5 language. They won't sit you down and say ok what do you know in
6 your own language and they'll write it down or go through it.

Pupil talk in the extract 6.38 provides a further indication that home languages are overlooked as an opportunity for foreign language learning more widely. What started as a promising description that activities had been developed based on home languages, turned out to be a further example of the dominance of mainstream foreign languages.

Extract 6.38

- 1 P1 In year two you'd have like the thing, you'd have loads of um kind of
2 languages and the language and it had like a thing covering it um and
3 each one would say like a day on it Monday Tuesday Wednesday
4 Thursday Friday and she would like switch them round and then like
5 she would take them off on Monday and say the language that was like
6 I think it was 'good morning' or 'hello' and then we would speak in
7 that language in the register in the morning
8 R Ok and what year was that?
9 P1 That was year two
10 R Do you remember any of those words?
11 P1 Um it was like 'guten Tag', 'ola', 'bonjour', 'bongiorno' and things
12 like that

School structure

The recurrence of the 'well-being' repertoire (extracts 6.32 and 6.33) implies, as in WY1, a rule that children should feel happy at school. Related to this, is an apparent rule that teachers should not place children under undue stress: 'you don't want to force children if they don't want to read in their own language' (extract 6.33, 15-7). Nevertheless, this is challenged by T1: 'maybe ... we're not pushing them enough' (extract 6.32, 118-20), 'but you ask them to read in English' (extract 6.33, 112).

Data from the pupil discussion groups indicate a rule that mainstream European languages are of more value than home languages (extract 6.38). The deployment of, or failure to deploy, particular resources, reinforces the limits to which L1 allows home languages to penetrate the school culture. As with WM1, the use of

visual cues, ‘a few signs around the school’ (extract 6.37, 11), serve to affirm the presence of home languages, rather than indicate a deeper engagement with them on the part of staff. The fact that relatives at home are regarded with suspicion in terms of the support they can provide (extract 6.34) suggests that this is not a resource the school draws on, in contrast with reported practice in WM2.

The analysis of practitioner talk at L1 raises questions about another feature of structuration theory, that of ‘social systems’. In section 3.3 I implied that in this study, these might be identifiable at the level of school, education system and English society. Where discourse of various practitioners deploying the same repertoires may be seen as reinforcing each other and delineating a broader school culture, the contradictions in the conversation between not wishing to push children too hard (espoused by T2), and challenging them more (T1) suggest the picture can be more complicated. On one level, assuming well-being and not making too many demands of children are part of the school culture, T1’s interventions may be seen as a challenge to the school structure, in much the same way as the students in Creese’s and Willis’s studies challenged the structure of the schools they were in. However, whereas the students in those studies were drawing on resources/repertoires from other social systems of which they were a part, T1 is still drawing on an education-related repertoire – the talk is still pupil and learning focussed. The repertoire can be said therefore to belong to the ‘education system’, rather than the school as a social system. At this point, the concept of a single ‘structure’ of the English primary school system, with constraints and enablers that apply to all those operating in that system becomes difficult to maintain in the light of these contrary principles. What may be

apparent here are multiple cultures in the same social system. I elaborate this point further in section 7.1.5.

Summary

A key feature of the practitioner discussion at L1 is a struggle which occurs between advocacy of strong forms of probilingual practice on the one hand, and resistance to that through the use of ‘well-being’ and ‘surface level / use learning of HL’ on the other. In particular, one teacher’s case for teachers encouraging bilingual pupils to read in the home language, was met with ‘well-being’ and ‘locating the issue with the child’ arguments to position teachers away from taking responsibility for consistently doing this, before the ‘unreliable support at home’ subtheme was introduced to close down the suggestion.

There was some evidence from the pupil data that teachers may encourage the use of English at home, but not of any insistence on this, and also there was some interest among teachers in the languages bilingual children spoke. In the classroom children indicated they were free to use their home language, and that teachers encourage some surface level learning of home languages. However, the main effort of foreign languages learning is focussed on mainstream foreign languages.

6.3.5 The role of repertoires in creating probilingual and counterbilingual positions in talk across the schools

Having analysed practitioner discourse data from across four schools, it is possible to make several observations in response to research question 2

To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subtractive bilingualism?

To begin with, it is possible to say that on no occasion did teacher talk refer to a strictly English only position. Conversely, no consistent argument was made *for* three of the four principles identified in section 1.2.5, that a probilingual curriculum should support:

- home language literacy development
- family engagement in children's learning
- bilingualism over time.

Several practitioners in the group discussion did present an argument for allowing home language use in the classroom, and described practice which meant children did learn something of the home languages present in the school, and so the fourth probilingual principle of 'providing opportunities to use / engage with the home language' was advocated in practitioner discourse, albeit at a surface level of learning, or for purposes of well-being and supporting classroom processes.

From the data presented, the strongest counterbilingual position is arguably that taken by TA1 at WM1 (extract 6.13), who described the encouragement and incentives she provided to speak more English at home. At the other, probilingual, end of the spectrum, is HT's (extract 6.23) encouragement of a parent to speak in L1 in the home.

Instead of taking strong probilingual or counterbilingual positions, practitioners tended to draw on repertoires in conversation in ways which limited practitioners collectively from achieving this. Interestingly it is two of the repertoires identified

from the primary data from this study which played this auxiliary role: ‘well-being’, and ‘surface level use / learning of HL’. Whereas repertoires 1 and 3 could be categorised as probilingual when related to the principles and research evidence (see section 6.1.3), and repertoires 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7 as counterbilingual, repertoires 9 (‘well-being’) and 10 (‘surface level use / learning of HL’) facilitated moves away from as well as towards a more probilingual position, depending on the starting point of the conversation practitioners were reacting against.

In the extracts of practitioner talk in section 6.3, are examples of the ‘well-being’ repertoire being used to counter ‘primacy of English’ (extracts 6.2, 6.3), and to advocate classroom activities based on home languages (extracts 6.4, 6.22, 6.32). In this sense, the repertoire can be said to have a probilingual function, by giving a rationale for such practices as allowing bilingual children to talk in their home language during classroom activities, and teaching elements of home languages to the whole class. On the other hand, the ‘well-being’ repertoire was also employed to move discussion away from a focus on the role of the home language for learning (WY1, 6.2, 6.3), and during the discussion at L1:

You don’t want to force children if they don’t want to read in their own language (extract 6.33)

Similarly, the ‘surface level use / learning of HL’ repertoire was used to make the case for increasing the visibility of home languages in the school and classroom (extracts 6.6), and for all children to learn something of the home languages in the school (extracts 6.6, 6.22).

As with the ‘well-being’ repertoire, however, the ‘surface level use / learning of HL’ was also introduced in a way which hindered deeper exploration of more

substantial probilingual practice. In the discussion in L1, the suggestion that bilingual children record reading activity in their home language in diaries, was moved from being a starting point from which teachers could encourage literacy development in the home language, to an exercise which finished with celebration of pupils' reading (extract 6.33). While acknowledgement and celebration of bilingual children's reading in the home language can be considered probilingual to the extent it produces a positive message about this activity, if it is the end-point, it is a missed opportunity to support deeper engagement with the home language.

If the 'well-being' and 'surface level use / learning of HL' repertoires have a limiting impact on how far probilingual practice can be explored in talk, the third repertoire emerging from the primary data 'utility of HL learning / use' can be seen to be a key in creating a discourse of transitional bilingualism. When analysing talk in the 'utility' repertoire against the probilingual principles and examples of practice, I concluded the repertoire could on balance be tagged as counterbilingual (see section 6.1.6). This was on the basis that it advocated translation as a means of classroom management, rather than a process for exploring language and developing cognitive skills, as well as use of the home language until such time as the bilingual child was fluent in English. The repertoire also presents arguments which support a status quo of mainstream foreign language domination to the detriment of considering the learning of the majority of home languages represented in school, as illustrated in the discussion group at WY1 (extract 6.5).

Analysis of discourse data at the level of individual schools confirms this conclusion, as the repertoire plays a key role in advancing practice which can be

described as transitional. In extract 6.14, the head teacher describes clearly how bilingual children should use the home language as a stage in acquiring English competence:

But if they're clarifying understanding and talking between them then that's an ideal opportunity to get things right and then to try and put it into English and to be supported in putting it into English.

In extract 6.2, T4 advocates translation to help children who 'haven't got the language', and contrasts them with 'competent' children, who are able to translate because they are fluent in English – 'competent' here being equated with fluency in English. The use of the home language, therefore, only has a role in the classroom until such time as a child can use English.

While the use of the 'well-being' repertoire clearly relates to practitioner concern for the affective impact of classroom activity on bilingual pupils, this is also the case in the way the 'surface-level' and 'utility' repertoires are used in conversation. Frequently, activities relating to these two repertoires were justified by use of the 'well-being' repertoire (extracts 6.2, 6.3, 6.22, 6.32, 6.33), or were presented as a means of integrating bilingual children into the class (extracts 6.6, 6.15). In this way, based on the practitioner talk reported here, well-being and integration are a primary concern. By contrast to this reinforcement of the 'well-being' repertoire, talk which focussed on engaging in learning and cognitive development, in as much as it arose in the group discussions, was cut short by 'well-being' and 'surface-level' repertoires. This is a point I discuss in more detail in section 7.2.4.

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6.3.6 Pupil experiences across the four schools

By analysing the data at individual school level, I was able to compare pupil experiences in each school with practitioner descriptions of their practice, and so explore the third research question in more detail:

To what extent do pupils' perceptions of teaching staff practice align with practitioner accounts?

Comparison of practitioner and pupil survey data, showed that pupils on the whole recollected less probilingual and more counterbilingual practice than practitioner responses indicated (section 6.2), and at individual school level difference in practitioner perspectives and pupil perceptions of practice (sections 6.1.3 – 6.3.4). However, analysis of the discourse data from the discussion groups revealed the limitations of survey data in providing reliable insights into practice. For example, survey claims by over a third of practitioners and pupils at both WY1 and L1 that practitioners encouraged bilingual pupils to read books in their home language were not substantiated by any evidence emerging from the discussion groups, despite probes to describe such practice.

Looked at as a whole, the discourse data reported on in sections 6.3.1 to 6.3.4 points towards a less probilingual stance on the part of practitioners than the survey data indicate, although it should be reiterated that only 45 of the total 189 practitioners participating in the survey were represented by colleagues in the school discussion groups reported here. Practitioner discourse data from the discussion groups are, however, more comparable with pupil descriptions of practice in their discussion groups. Taken together, these data provide some

indication of the degrees of practice in relation to bilingual children's use and learning of their home language.

My aim in this section is to compare pupil and practitioner descriptions of practice to see how closely they align, and so provide a triangulated account of how far the schools in this study can be said to contribute to additive or subtractive bilingualism.

Allowing the use of home languages in the classroom

Practitioners in WY1, WM1, WM2 described their practice as allowing bilingual pupils to speak in their home language, if it helped them to contribute to classroom activities, and to support each other. In the case of WM2, this also included encouragement to use the home language in the early years (extract 6.25). However, there were limits to this, as it could be an opportunity to talk off task, be cheeky, or was considered unhelpful in English language development (extracts 6.1, 6.14, 6.26).

Pupils likewise, described practice as allowing the use of home languages, with circumscription of the extent to which this could happen:

*P1: Like the teachers would encourage them to speak a bit of Polish
and English as well*

P2: But they like speaking a lot like they'll tell them to speak English
(extract 6.7)

you can speak your language whenever you want to (L1 pupil survey)

On occasion, practitioners rejected the suggestion that pupils should not speak their home language because it is rude (extracts 6.31; 6.14; 6.26). Where pupils

discussed this, their perception was mixed about whether teachers would ask them not to speak in their home language because it is rude (extracts 6.20, 6.30, 6.31), and children themselves believed that it was rude to speak the home language when others didn't understand (extracts 6.20, 6.30).

In WM2 practitioners suggested use of home languages in the classroom was likely to be restricted as children progressed through school (extract 6.26). This assumption that home language use in schools is transitional was reflected in pupil responses at WM1, where bilingual children said they spoke more English in school now than previously:

R: Are there any reasons why you don't speak your home language now?

P: It's because other people around you they don't understand. They might think you're saying something rude or something - they don't understand. (extract 6.20)

Utility of home language use

Practitioners' reference to the value of bilingual children translating for classmates whose English was not fluent, in order that they could contribute to classroom activities (extracts 6.2, 6.14), was also echoed in pupils' accounts of practice (extract 6.8).

Pupils in WM1 described similar practice (extract 6.19). While confirming that teachers encouraged home language use when it came to including bilingual pupils in lesson activities, pupil reports suggested practitioners were unlikely to see home language use as a medium for learning. This included the missed

opportunity to explore if bilingual pupils could do a writing activity in their home language rather than drawing a picture (section 6.3.1).

Interest in bilingual children's home language skills and learning

There was little evidence from practitioner discussion groups that teachers took an intrinsic interest in children's ability to speak languages other than English, or in the languages themselves. Where the number of languages spoken in school was mentioned, this was in the context of making it problematic to accommodate this variety, through use of the 'quantity of languages' subtheme (extract 6.34).

However, pupil comments suggested that some teachers at least do take an interest in bilingual children's home languages. Pupils at WM2 and L1 recalled teachers enquiring about the languages they spoke (extracts 6.27, 6.36).

Elsewhere, however, when asked, pupils stated that teachers had not asked about their home languages (extracts 6.27, 6.28).

Pupils at WY1 did not have a strong recollection that teachers had spoken with them specifically about language use at home (extract 6.11).

Among the pupil data, there was one instance of a pupil referring to teacher encouragement to use English at home (extract 6.35).

Home language learning

When it came to encouraging the learning of home languages, practitioners in WY1 and WM2 described this in terms of surface level learning: such as greetings (extract 6.6), songs (extract 6.6), answering the register (extract 6.20). At no point in the group discussions did practitioners discuss ways they had promoted sustained, deeper learning of home languages beyond these surface learning

activities. Indeed, when asked to consider this, one teacher responded that she would not want to force children to read in the home language, although her colleague challenged this (extract 6.31).

Similarly, pupils described ways in which teachers promoted the surface level learning of home languages, as displaying multilingual timetables (extract 6.18), and signs (extract 6.35). Further exploration with pupils of ways in which teachers may have encouraged more sustained, deeper learning of home languages, through reading, for instance, failed to elicit any examples. In two cases, practitioners described specific encouragement of language use at home: one encouraging parents to use the home language (extract 6.23), and the other promoting more use of English (extract 6.13). One practitioner at L1 felt an impediment to encouraging literacy activity at home was the unreliability of the support parents would provide (extract 6.34).

Pupils at WY1 (extract 6.9) when asked directly replied that their teachers had not asked them about their reading in their home language, while pupils at WM1 stated their teachers had asked them about reading in their home language, but had not actively encouraged it (extract 6.17). At L1, one pupil was explicit that any engagement with home languages in the school was at a surface level only (extract 6.34).

Ascendancy of mainstream European languages

Practitioners in the discussion groups at WY1 referenced the preference for their school to teach mainstream European languages in the foreign language curriculum. Reasons given for this, were teachers' familiarity with these

languages, their wider value beyond school, and the fact that these were the languages pupils would be learning at secondary school (extract 6.5).

This focus on mainstream European foreign languages over home languages became apparent in the pupil discourse data on several occasions (extracts 6.16, 6.26, 6.35). In fact, prompts to talk about language learning often led to pupils giving examples of learning mainstream European languages, so confirming a division among languages between those which were suitable for depth learning in school (European mainstream languages, and those which were not (pupils' home languages)).

In this section I have compared, on the basis of limited data, teacher and pupil perspectives on bilingual pupils' use and learning of home languages. On the whole, the comparison of the discussion group data has identified a greater correspondence between practitioner description and pupil perception of teacher practice in this area than could have been derived from consideration of survey data alone. Corroboration of practitioner accounts was provided in pupil data in the following aspects of practice:

- teachers allowed the use of home languages in the classroom, but within limits, and this was transitional in nature
- teacher encouragement of translation of the home language to support integration of bilingual pupils into classroom activities
- practitioners do not pay particular interest in bilingual children's literacy learning in the home language

- teachers organize activities which mean pupils learn something of each other's languages in the classroom, but this occurs at surface level only
- mainstream European languages predominate the foreign language curriculum.

Differences in pupil and practitioner accounts of practice occurred to the extent that:

- some pupils believed that speaking the home language could be perceived as rude, whereas this view was rejected when discussed by practitioners
- pupils provided more evidence of practitioner interest in their home language, than practitioners did themselves, but their accounts suggested this was not universal practice.

6.4 Practitioners' response to evidence relating to bilingual pupils' use and learning of their home language and suggestions to adapting practice

While this thesis is primarily concerned with identifying practitioner perspectives on bilingual pupils' use and learning of their home language, it is also an opportunity to consider how practitioners respond to the evidence on bilingualism and suggestions to adopt practice in the light of this. The initial research design based on practitioner enquiry, would have enabled recording of practitioner talk in relation to the evidence and their changing practice over time. Nevertheless, even within the snapshot of practitioner perspectives provided by the group

discussions, data relevant to this research question was generated, and form the basis of the analysis described in this section.

Practitioners in the discussion groups were presented with evidence on bilingualism in two forms. The explicit introduction to evidence was in the form of the practitioner enquiry frameworks, which began with a summary of research evidence about bilingualism as a rationale for conducting the enquiry. The second, implicit form, was the prompt statements, which had been formulated based on evidence about the pro- or counterbilingual nature of the practice described (see section 5.9.2). This, of course, was also the case for practitioners participating in the survey.

In a sense, therefore, all talk generated in the group discussions and survey free text boxes is a reaction to the evidence relating to bilingual pupils' use and learning of their home language, and the extent to which participating practitioners' reactions are pro- or counterbilingual is already described in section 6.3.5. In this discussion, I look more closely at practitioner talk around the repertoires of 'accepting responsibility' and 'locating responsibility away', and the related repertoires of 'EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive' and 'school focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous'. These repertoires are 'attributive' in nature (Wooffitt, 2005). The 'accepting responsibility' repertoire is used by participants to accept suggestions for alternative practice, and the change that implies. The other three attributive repertoires are used to reject arguments for alternative practice, even if this is not a conscious intention, and thus maintain 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1984; 50) by preserving the status quo.

I begin by firstly reviewing data from the survey free text comments, and then from the group discussions. I then analyse practitioner data from the group discussion held at WY2. This not only provides an opportunity to draw on those data to see how the discussion there complements those of the four schools analysed so far in this section, but uniquely among the group discussions, practitioners at WY2 engaged in prolonged and recurrent weighing up of the value of probilingual practices and what might hinder their implementation. The dialogue here, therefore, provides a detailed example of the arguments which can be forwarded for promoting probilingual practice, as well as for not doing so.

Attributive repertoires in survey text data

There were three comments in the survey free-text boxes attributable to the ‘acknowledging responsibility’ subtheme, compared with eight tagged as ‘locating responsibility away’, two ‘EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive’, and five ‘school focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous’.

On this basis, it might be considered that resistance to adopting probilingual practice, in the form of providing reasons for not doing so, is wider spread than a disposition towards doing so. However, nine of the fifteen comments giving reasons for not developing probilingual practice were made by teachers in training. This puts the outcome in a different light, reflecting the fact that adapting pedagogy for bilingual children represents an additional challenge, in an already challenging situation of developing general practice as a teacher:

I find children with EAL very interesting but daunting. The children I taught with EAL were fluent in English - I'm not sure how I'd approach a

child who came to school with no English. I find parents with no English a bigger problem than the children (PGCE).

Of the free text survey comments made by established practitioners, one felt practitioners needed more support, two located the issue with the community, two with children, and one stated it was impossible to help bilingual children learn their home language.

Of the three comments relating to the ‘acknowledging responsibility’ subtheme, one was made by a practitioner at WM2, which, as already noted in section 6.3.3, and echoes the broader occurrence of the ‘accepting responsibility’ repertoire in the group discussion at that school; and two referred to wishing to talk more with parents to explore how the practitioners might develop strategies to support their children. One of these embraced comprehensively the probilingual approaches the survey prompts were suggesting:

I've never done this [allow students to use their home language in completing class work] but would happily try! - I don't talk to parents enough about their language - I don't embrace it enough in class - would be nice to have non-English texts in class libraries not just school libraries (L3).

Attributive repertoires in practitioner group discussion data

The ‘acknowledging responsibility’ subtheme arose in group discussions at three of the schools analysed at individual school level: WY1 (extracts 6.4, 6.6), WM2 (extracts 6.23, 6.25), and L1 (6.32, 6.33, 6.35). A total of six participants used the ‘accepting responsibility’ repertoire to:

- entertain the suggestion that teachers should design activities which mean children can learn each other's languages (extracts 6.4, 6.6, 6.22)
- acknowledge inconsistency in teachers' organisation of activities which meant home languages were a feature of school life (extract 6.6)
- concede a lack of knowledge of home languages among practitioners (extract 6.22)
- concede that the school could be doing more to support and bilingual pupils (extract 6.25) and challenge them (extract 6.32)
- entertain a suggestion that teachers monitor bilingual children's literacy activity at home (extracts 6.32, 6.33), or make links with complementary schools to explore a common curriculum for bilingual pupils (extract 6.35).

The 'locating responsibility away' repertoire arose on four occasions in the group discussions at WY1, WM1, and L1. It was used by participants to explain:

- why the focus in the foreign languages curriculum was on mainstream European languages, as opposed to home languages (extract 6.5)
- why promoting home language learning is not appropriate for some bilingual children (extract 6.16, 6.33)
- that pupils cannot be relied on to report language learning at home (extract 6.34)

In addition, the ‘quantity of languages’ subtheme was invoked in the group discussion at L1, to explain why developing a bilingual curriculum might be more appropriate for other schools where there was a narrower range of home languages spoken by the pupils (extract 6.35).

Apparent in the group discussions was the way the ‘acknowledging responsibility’ subtheme was rarely accompanied by suggestions for strong probilingual practice (‘HL use and learning as beneficial’), but was rather associated with practice described in the ‘well-being’ (extracts 6.4, 6.22, 6.32, 6.33) and ‘surface level’ (extract 6.6) repertoires.

In one interesting intervention at L1, T1 shifted the conversation away from the ‘locating responsibility away’ repertoire to ‘acknowledging responsibility’, by challenging T2’s assertion that children should not be forced to read in their home language (extract 6.33)

Attributive repertoires in group discussion data at WY2

The direct challenge to counterbilingual talk which featured in the L1 data was unique among the group discussions in the analysis at individual school level. However, it did feature strongly in the group discussion held at WY2, where one teacher was more tenacious than others in advancing probilingual practice. The group discussion was attended by a Year 3 teacher (T3), Year 5 teacher (T5), and bilingual teaching assistant (TA). What follows is an analysis of the discussion held at WY2, where T3 adopts the ‘home language use and learning as beneficial’ repertoire in response to the prompts:

- ‘Schools should do what they can to ensure children develop literacy skills in their home language’ (extract 6.39)
- ‘Teachers should design activities which mean children can learn each other’s languages in the classroom’ (extract 6.40)
- Enquiry 6: How can we increase literacy activity among our learners? (extract 6.41).

T5, having begun from a probilingual stance, adopts for most of the conversation a counterbilingual position by presenting a range of arguments for why the promotion of literacy in the home language would be difficult for the school in practice.

The conversation begins with T5 responding to the prompt that the school should be supporting children to develop L1 literacy skills, first by agreeing with the statement and then questioning whether it actually happens in the school (extract 6.39). T3 then leads the group into agreement before the conversation moves on.

Extract 6.39

Repertoire

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 T5 I mean I have a feeling that we should be doing</p> <p>2 that one - school ensures they are skilled in their</p> <p>3 home language but I’m not sure that we do</p> <p>4 R But this is asking your opinion, so if you if you</p> <p>5 agree with that statement then that will go on the</p> <p>6 agree pile</p> <p>7 T3 Well we agree with that don’t we</p> <p>8 T5 Yeah</p> | <p>4. acknowledging responsibility</p> |
|--|--|

As the conversation progresses (extract 6.40), T5 invokes the ‘quantity of languages’ subtheme to counter the suggestion that teachers design activities

which mean children can learn each other's languages. T3 in turn counters this, and promotes the practice. TA's contribution then moves the suggestion away from the 'HL use / learning as beneficial' repertoire, to 'surface level use / learning of HL'. This in turn enables T3 to conclude by suggesting that this is already existing practice in the school. The extract starts at the point one of the teachers has read out the statement: 'Teachers should design activities which mean that children can learn each other's languages in the classroom'.

Extract 6.40

Themes

- | | | | |
|----|----|---|----------------|
| 1 | T3 | You see we have Giuseppe coming in as well | |
| 2 | | don't we teaching Italian | |
| 3 | T5 | Again going from my perspective there's a | |
| 4 | | slight practical aspect because I think at last | 8. quantity of |
| 5 | | count I have eight or nine languages in my | languages |
| 6 | | classroom but that is | |
| 7 | T3 | But therefore you should design activities | 4. taking on |
| 8 | T5 | But I think that is good yeah | responsibility |
| 9 | T3 | So we agree with that | |
| 10 | TA | They could learn some basic words or | 10. using HL |
| 11 | | something | phrases |
| 12 | T3 | Yeah | |
| 13 | T5 | Yeah | |
| 14 | TA | Like some welcoming words or something | 10. using HL |
| 15 | T5 | Yeah | phrases |
| 16 | T3 | That's right. Yeah we we agree that. We think | |
| 17 | | teachers should design activities and that | 4. taking on |
| 18 | | schools should do what they can. We think | responsibility |
| 19 | | we're doing ok | |
| 20 | T5 | Our best | |

It becomes apparent in extract 6.40 that T3 adopts discourse to champion probilingual practice, directly challenging T5's objections of feasibility based on the 'quantity of languages' subtheme. In line 7, she does this by contesting the take up of the next turn, interrupting T5's 'quantity of languages' argument, and deploying the word 'therefore' to indicate this is a logical progression of T5's argument to say that teachers should be organising probilingual activities, and closes this part of the conversation with 'we agree with that' (line 16). At this turn TA then takes up the conversation to introduce an interpretation of 'learn each other's languages' at a level of low demand 'they could learn some basic words' ('surface level use / learning of HL'). This is not challenged by T3, but is rather tacitly accepted as supporting the argument that the school is doing ok.

Nevertheless, the use of 'could' (line 10) and 'should' (line 18), without concrete examples of what is happening now, suggests that designing activities which focus on home languages may not be current practice in the school.

In extract 6.41, T5 begins by positively evaluating the idea that teachers could record and map bilingual children's L1 literacy activity: 'this one actually seems quite manageable' (line 1). Nevertheless, T5 closes his comments with the 'locating responsibility away' repertoire (lines 12 and 13). T3 then makes the probilingual case that reading per se is beneficial, regardless of the language (lines 14-17), countered in turn by T5, that there is likely to be a lack of availability of reading material (lines 24-28). Finally, T5 then reinforces the counterbilingual position, drawing on the 'school focus on HL as something difficult' repertoire as a reason not to take the idea forward.

- 1 T5 And this one actually seems quite manageable
- 2 TA Yeah
- 3 T5 Because it talks about get the children get
- 4 bilingual children to record all their reading so
- 5 whether it's in English or the home language
- 6 and then use it to kind of map what they read
- 7 and how does then that match up to achievement
- 8 so does it work out that those who read in both
- 9 achieve more highly and it's talking about
- 10 getting the children to ... again similar to that
- 11 it's getting the children to read for themselves.
- 12 Again it's going to work for older but **is it going**
- 13 **to work younger** but that seems quite
- 14 T3 Well encouraging them to read in both
- 15 languages can only **benefit them** can't it because
- 16 **reading** you know **benefits them** doesn't it. The
- 17 more they read
- 18 T5 But then you just the only thing I would wonder
- 19 is it's going to be ok for fairly mainstream
- 20 languages, because I'm thinking that you know
- 21 you can get French books quite easily. We've
- 22 got Polish books as well, but I'm thinking as
- 23 well again for something that's a bit less well
- 24 known like, again Shona, Lingala. **Do they have**
- 25 **access to books in the home language** which,
- 26 unless they brought them with them, which I
- 27 suspect many of them wouldn't have done. If
- 28 they kind of came in a hurry
- 29 TA Well a lot of our um a lot of our **families are on**
- 30 **very low incomes** so
- 31 T5 Exactly I don't think the bookcase thing that ...
3. locating the issue with the child
2. benefits of using / learning HL
3. lack of support / resources
3. locating the issue with parents

32	I wouldn't imagine that they'd have lots of	
33	books	
34	TA In their own language	
35	T5 So I think that that would be the stumbling block	
36	for, because I think that it's for us generally	
37	putting too many things into place	6. quantity of work

Still on the topic of providing literacy opportunities in the home language for bilingual pupils, T5 in extract 6.42 again refers to the 'quantity of languages' subtheme, to explain why it would be difficult for the school to adopt more probilingual practice. T5 then invokes the 'accepting responsibility' subtheme (lines 6-10), not in order to forward a probilingual argument, but rather to illustrate the historical difficulty of introducing probilingual practice despite efforts, and so implicitly locating responsibility away.

As in the earlier conversation, T3 advocates the school taking a more active role in developing home language literacy skills by referring to the possibility of accessing a funding source (lines 14-15).

Extract 6.42

Themes

1	T5 We've got so many different languages that it's	6. quantity of languages
2	impossible to cater for them all and I remember	
3	years ago we had it was actually Manu's little	
4	sister. When she started she didn't speak a word	
5	of English yet she spoke French, she spoke	
6	Lingala. And I remember at the time trying to	4. accepting responsibility
7	find out was there any way was there anybody in	
8	the community whatever who you could use to	
9	help but it just kind of fizzled out - trying to get	4. accepting responsibility

10 to help but it never really happened
 11 T3 You see you can get now, when you take English
 12 as an additional language children, if they've
 13 been in the country less than twelve months you
 14 can apply, I think it's for a hundred pounds so 4. acknowledging
 15 you could use that towards purchasing books. responsibility

At this point, T5 returns to the argument that it is difficult to find books in certain languages (extract 6.43, lines 1-3), which T3 counters with the suggestion that they can research whether this is the case (acknowledging responsibility, line 7). T5, nevertheless, introduces another 'locating responsibility away' argument, questioning whether the languages he has in mind can be found in written form (lines 9-10).

Extract 6.43

Themes

1	T5	It's just a case can you get them like Lingala	
2		Press. I don't think we've got one of those it	
3		wouldn't seem	
4	T3	Google's pretty good.	
5	T5	Yeah	
6	T3	Amazon is good at those sorts of things isn't it.	4. acknowledging
7		You might just have to research where is a good	responsibility
8		place to buy them	
9	T5	Yeah, and the other thing I wonder is, are all the	3. wider structural
10		languages written?	factors
11	TA	Yes	
12	T5	Well that's the other little question I'd have on	
13		my mind. Some will be but are all of them	
14		written languages?	
15	TA	Yes	
16	T5	And it's just you sometimes get. I think when	
17		they can speak a language but they can't read a	3. wider structural

Having intervened four times to support the idea of teachers designing activities around home languages, to promote literacy, suggest ways of researching and funding the availability and purchase of books in home languages, T3 at this stage allows T5 to have the final say on the issue of what teachers are able to do to support the use and learning of home languages among WY2's bilingual pupils. It does, however, represent the most sustained argument for probilingual practice among all the practitioner discourse data in this study.

The final stage of the group discussion was an exchange concerning the suggestion that WY2 link up with complementary schools to develop a bilingual curriculum for pupils, based on enquiry 2: *What are the opportunities for developing a bilingual curriculum for our pupils?*

Extract 6.44

Themes

- 1 T5 It also says here that bilingual learners could
- 2 access the curriculum in their own language
- 3 outside the school and try and work the two
- 4 together to help them understand more
- 5 R But the Polish children go to a Polish school on
- 6 a Saturday
- 7 TA They do on a Saturday yes
- 8 T3 So that helps them doesn't it
- 9 T5 That would be an advantage if it was in a
- 10 language like Punjabi if they were going to a
- 11 madrasa that would again but I keep coming
- 12 back to my African language I know African
- 13 languages there's just there isn't really the scope

I then prompted the practitioners to consider whether it would be interesting for them to work with colleagues at the Polish school to where the curriculums overlap, and consider the possibility of creating a bilingual curriculum. The responses in extract 6.43 represent

Extract 6.45

Themes

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | T5 I think it'd be very difficult wouldn't it because |
| 2 | I think we've so many different languages |
| 3 | yeah I think it would be impractical here even |
| 4 | working with other schools you'd still have a |
| 5 | huge selection of languages |

Looked at from a 'lines of action' perspective, T5 and T3 are each consistent in the positions they take: T3's consistent probilingual argument is consistently countered by T5. Apart from T5's move away from the statement 'this one seems quite manageable' (extract 6.41, 11), none of the participants presents contradicting arguments. However, T5's recourse to the range of reasons not to adopt probilingual practice does indicate that the talk is more about what T5 is aiming to achieve in the conversation, rather than a reflection of a consistent set of beliefs he may hold. For example, the first reason he provides in extract 6.39, that encouraging pupils to read might not work with younger pupils, is one which is abandoned once other arguments are deployed. In the light of T3's counter arguments T5 runs through a range of reasons why probilingual practice is not possible:

- Quantity of languages (extracts 6.40, 6.42, 6.45)

- Ability for younger children to cope (extract 6.41)
- Access to books (extracts 6.41, 6.43)
- Quantity of work (extract 6.41)
- Some languages are not in written form (extract 6.43)
- Children's inability to read in their home language (extract 6.43)
- Lack of complementary provision in certain languages (extract 6.44)

T5's conduct in the conversation supports Swidler's claim:

People do not readily take advantage of new structural opportunities which would require them to abandon established ways of life. This is not because they cling to cultural values, but because they are reluctant to abandon strategies or action for which they have the cultural equipment.
(Swidler, 1986: 281)

The strength of this inertia not to introduce new practice is also demonstrated by the relative dominance of the conversation by T5. Having led the conversation in extract 6.38, and concluding agreement with the statement 'teachers should design activities which mean children learn each other's languages', it is T5 who takes the lead in introducing arguments. T3's contributions thereafter are a reaction to these, providing practical information on support for suggestion to encourage reading in the home language. T3's 'choice' not to pursue a more robust argument for change may be to do more with lack of access to the 'authoritative resources' to organise the curriculum than concern about 'sanctions' (Giddens, 1986: 18)

6.5 The significance of context in the analysis of practitioner discussion data

In section 3.3, I briefly referred to Giddens's reflections on the different levels of 'systemness' within 'societal totalities'. In the analyses at individual school level I have attempted to portray, based on the limited discourse data of the group discussions, what the social system for those schools might be in terms of rules and constraints – ie what the conversations might tell us about the context of the schools. In this section, I attempt to take the analysis a step further by exploring what influence contextual factors might have on the discourse data. In particular, I consider the role the presence of the head teacher may have had on the direction of the conversation in the group discussions, and how this may relate to Ofsted reports on leadership and other aspects of school life.

The patterns of conversation across the five group discussion settings can be broadly categorised as:

- Creating a consensus towards transitional bilingualism (WY1, WM1)
- Challenges for more probilingual practice in the face of resistance (L1, WY2), and
- Creating a consensus towards additive bilingualism, within limits (WM2).

The presence of the head teacher in two of these group discussions (WM1 and WM2) may account for the fact that there was consensus in them, whereas open challenges to counterbilingual talk occurred only where peers were present (L1, WY2).

In addition, a closer analysis of the conversations where head teachers were present reflects their differing levels of control over the course of the discussions, which may be related to what is known about their leadership styles and circumstances as described in inspection reports.

In both schools, the head teacher was credited as a strong leader in their respective Ofsted reports. In the case of WM1, the head teacher had been seconded as a school improvement advisor, and Ofsted reported on their 'inspired leadership'. WM2 was judged to be an outstanding school, whose head teacher was praised for an uncompromising pursuit of excellence.

Nevertheless, the schools differed significantly in various aspects of provision and leadership. Ofsted reported in some detail on the professional learning culture in WM2: the senior team was engaged in leadership training and professional learning; teachers place great value on their own learning. This was borne out in the discussion group data, where the head and deputy head described recently engaging with specialists in respect of provision for EAL pupils. Ofsted highlighted the 'excellent support' the leadership team provided other teachers, as well as close collaboration between different teams in the school. The teaching was judged to be consistently good, and frequently outstanding. Ofsted also described a general culture of dialogue at WM2, where staff were reported as knowing their pupils well, and as effective in engaging with parents. The picture emerging for the school, therefore, is one of clarity of purpose and coherence.

The head teacher at WM1, on the other hand, was just coming to grips with problems in her school, having returned from secondment, during which period a number of her original staff had left. While the head teacher was said to have a

clear vision for the school, and to be taking a good approach to improving teaching and learning, this was yet to filter through fully to the classroom, where there were inconsistencies in the quality of teaching. No comment was made on the quality of CPD at WM1, just that teachers valued it.

This information on the two schools' circumstances may relate to the ways the head teachers organised participation at the group discussions. At WM2, the head teacher invited her senior team to participate, with the addition of a classroom teacher. This may have been a contributory factor to the consistency of the mainly probilingual message observable in the discussion. From the pupil accounts at WM2 it may be expected that at least some classroom teachers may have forwarded more counterbilingual perspectives.

At WM1, on the other hand, the head teacher invited two teaching assistants, because they themselves were bilingual and had a key role to play in supporting bilingual pupils. The fourth member of the group was an inclusion manager, who was new to the role in this school, with experience and training in special educational needs. This was her first time in a school with a significant EAL cohort.

Against this backdrop, certain aspects of the group discussions begin to appear relevant in relation to the degree to which the head teachers manage the conversation. It is noticeable, for example, how the head teacher at WM2 clarifies the context for the school in relation to the purpose of the group discussion:

We are very much at the starting point with EAL because children, because if they get into key stage two they're not below 2c. So we haven't had any children who have had to actively do anything additional EAL

wise. We've got for the first time a large number in our reception class but that's the biggest ever ... so we're really at the starting point. (extract 6.21).

This may be interpreted as the head teacher ensuring that members of her team cannot be blamed for lack of skill or knowledge in the area of EFL provision in the light of those of the researcher, but also taking command at the earliest opportunity of the 'authoritative resource' (Giddens, 1984) of setting the terms on which the ensuing conversation is set. Practitioners at WM1, on the other hand have been working with an ethnically and linguistically diverse cohort for several decades. While the languages of the children may change, working in classrooms where a high proportion of pupils spoke a language other than English was not a novelty for the Head and two teaching assistants in the group discussion. It may be for this reason that the head teacher at WM1 did not feel the need to set out a strategic position, as the focus of the discussion was something she and her staff felt they could talk about with authority. The head teacher allowed, as the specialist, her bilingual teaching assistant to make the opening gambit in their group discussion, and confined her interventions relate to rules of the classroom (extract 6.14), and of specific examples of children being able to use their home language (extract 6.15).

Differences are also observable with regard to the head teachers' role in moving the conversation on, and in leading the message that is conveyed in the discussions. At WM2, the head teacher encourages contributions from other participants: 'you chose that one' (extract 6.22, line 13); 'I can see where you're coming from' (extract 6.26, line 12). In two further examples, the head teacher's position is echoed, and so reinforced by the deputy head teacher:

Head teacher: *'We've got for the first time a large number in our reception class that's the biggest ever ... so we're really at the starting point.'*

(extract 6.21, lines 4-6)

Head teacher: *'Our school is very good'* (extract 6.25, line 1)

Deputy head: *'Our school is very good. We're just starting out aren't we'*

(extract 6.25, lines 3-4)

Head teacher: *'Polish parents that I had to see ... I had to talk to them'*

(extract 6.23, lines 10-11)

Deputy head teacher: *'And we've spoken to their parents'* (extract 6.24, line 4)

The head teacher at WM1 does not intervene in the conversation to the same degree as the head teacher at WM2, and there is not the same level of coherence in the conversations. In two instances teaching assistants make claims about the approach teachers should take in encouraging or allowing language use by bilingual pupils without an intervention by the head teacher. At the point the conversation becomes a dialogue, the head teacher's role is one of complementing the portrayal of one pupil begun by a teaching assistant.

One other contextual factor which may have had an impact on the data at WM1, was the relatively new arrival of the inclusion manager, whose experience to date had been in schools which where the number of EAL pupils were low. Her role in the paired discussion was to ask the teaching assistant she was paired with about

her experiences and practice, rather than to express strong opinions herself. In the whole group discussions, her contributions were minimal.

It is worth reiterating at this juncture the limits of the data in this study in enabling a fuller understanding of the school contexts in which the group discussions took place. However, the Ofsted descriptions of a more stable WM2 may relate to the more coherent message conveyed during the discussion and the closer control of the conversation by the head teacher.

6.6 Summary

The analysis has identified ten repertoires in practitioner discourse in relation to bilingual pupils use and learning of their home language, and identified where and how talk supports and undermines additive bilingualism. The quantitative data indicate in broad terms that practitioner perspectives are on balance probilingual, and there are differences in degree depending on the phase they work in and the stage in their career. However, when analysed at individual school level, descriptions of practice and context tend to close down talk of substantial use and learning of home languages, and indicate transitional practice, as described elsewhere in the literature (Kenner et al., 2008, Cable et al., 2004). In terms of suggestions for probilingual practice, several participants responded positively to this, but the way probilingual talk was consistently limited or closed down by other participants in conversations (the notable exception being WM2). This suggests sustained support would be required to move discourse and practice into a more probilingual direction. The group discussion at WM2 revealed a case of where this had happened as a result of the engagement of the head teacher and others in the team with specialist advisers.

In chapter seven I discuss the findings in more detail and consider the implications of the research.

Chapter 7 Discussion of the findings, implications, recommendations and conclusion

7.0 Introduction

In this study, I have attempted to describe primary practitioner talk in relation to practice likely to support or undermine additive bilingualism. The literature review has summarised evidence on the outcomes of particular practice for bilingual pupils, and described the ‘structures’ within which practitioners are operating, both in schools and wider society. These have been identified as mostly English-only in nature, either explicitly or implicitly, through discourse and descriptions of practice which promote transitional bilingualism. The study has also identified practitioner discourse likely to advance probilingual practice, and shown how this can be promoted and countered in professional conversations. In this chapter, I discuss in more detail the data analysis in relation to the research questions, looking in particular at the relationship between practitioner perspectives and the wider social and policy context. I also reflect on the links between the data analysis and structuration theory and the concept of repertoires. I conclude by considering the implications for practice, policy and research.

7.1 What are primary practitioners’ perspectives with regard to their bilingual pupils’ learning and use of their home language?

Through thematic analysis of primary practitioner discourse data from a range of sources, I identified a total of ten repertoires with regard to bilingual pupils’ learning and use of their home language. These were:

- 1: Primacy of English
- 2: Home language use and learning as beneficial
- 3: Locating responsibility away
- 4: Accepting responsibility
- 5: EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive
- 6: School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous
7. Home language use as subversive
8. Utility of home language learning / use
- 9: Well-being
- 10: Surface level use / learning of home language

The repertoires represent a range of pro- and counterbilingual practice, as well as practice which cannot be easily assigned to either of these categories. Of particular interest is how practitioners used repertoires in conversation to maintain or challenge school structure. I discuss this aspect of the research in section 7.2. In this section, I consider the relationship between the repertoires identified from practitioner talk, and the broader perspectives in relation to bilingualism, emerging from the literature review in chapter two.

7.1.1 Relationship between practitioner perspectives and wider discourses

In section 2.2 I summarised some of the messages from politicians, media and general public on the issue of bilinguals speaking languages other than English. The messages on the whole were negative and were in line with claims of increasing hostility to multilingualism (Creese and Blackledge, 2011a). Concerns

were raised that too much of the home language and not enough English were spoken in multilingual households (Hughes, 2014). There was low tolerance of home language use in public spaces (Sparrow, 2014), and the number of school children who speak a language other than English as their mother tongue, was described as ‘startling’ (Daily Mail, 2013).

A first, obvious point to make, is that practitioner discourse in this study was more temperate than the language used by politicians, editorial writers and restaurant managers reported in the literature review. Phrases such as ‘schizophrenia’, ‘use English at all times’ and ‘startling’ were not a part of practitioner talk. However, echoes of this language can be found in the repertoires emerging from the practitioner data, and I deal with these below.

Use of home languages / English at home

Several instances of the ‘quantifying use of languages’ and ‘insistence on English’ subthemes referred to a lack of use of English in the home, with the implication there should be more. This came out particularly strongly in the group discussion at WM1 (section 6.3.2, extract 6.12). The survey outcomes, however, suggested that it was not a majority of teachers who held this view.

Several practitioners reported in the literature found parents’ lack of ability to speak English problematic (Ghuman, 2003, Strand et al., 2010, Connors, 2003), and frequently in quite categorical terms: parents were accused of providing ‘no help’ because they did not learn English, or of not making the effort (Connors, 2003). This was not a perspective apparent in the participating schools’ data, however, where at most, one PGCE student suggested parents should do more to promote English, and one practitioner at WM4 referred to parents’ ‘poor English’.

In one of the participating schools (WM2), the head teacher spoke of the appropriateness of parents speaking the home language with their children, so they heard ‘a good model of language’. This perspective, notably promoted in this case by a specialist adviser, was also apparent in several instances of the ‘home language use and learning as beneficial’ repertoire.

Concerns about the use of home languages or English at home, therefore, were mixed among participating practitioners, and did not reflect the strength of concern voiced more widely in society.

Use of the home language in public / school spaces

Practitioner talk about the use of home languages in the classroom paralleled a desire more broadly to control home language use, but differed from a position of intolerance portrayed in the media (Sparrow, 2014, BBC, 2004), to one, expressed by practitioners, that home languages should be used to aid classroom management and the learning process. This is particularly evident in the ‘utility of home language learning / use’ repertoire. The main thrust of the repertoire, however, is transitional in nature, aiming for a position where all pupil talk is in English. To this extent, practitioners who espouse transitional talk can be seen to be advocating, albeit as an intended consequence, a wider aim of limiting home language use in society more generally.

Number of children speaking home languages

In contrast to expressions of alarm in press reports at the number of bilingual children in English schools (Daily Mail, 2013), practitioner reference to bilingual pupil numbers in this study was only made in relation to the diversity of home languages this represented in the school or classroom. The number of bilingual

pupils on roll was dealt with as a fact, rather than a problem. Practitioners at WM2, which was experiencing a large increase in the number of bilingual pupils, considered this occasion, if not an opportunity, for professional development, rather than a problem.

The evidence from this study indicates, therefore, that while there may be parallels between practitioner talk and perspectives held more widely in society, practitioners are more moderate in their views on home language use. Practitioners are more likely to see the presence of bilingual children as a given, and focus on strategies for supporting their learning. However, these very strategies, where they imply transitional practice, serve in practice to meet a wider concern for English-only in society.

7.1.2 Relationship between practitioner perspectives and policy

In the review of policy as it relates to bilingual pupils in sections 2.3-2.5, I identified several salient issues. These were:

- an ascendancy of mainstream European languages over home languages (Driscoll, 2004)
- mixed messages within policy documents and guidance with regard to use and learning of home languages, with less emphasis on the value of home languages in more recent documents (DfE, 2013c, Standards and Testing Agency, 2013)
- reduced and sporadic access to guidance, support and CPD for working with bilingual children. (NALDIC, 2009, Wallace and Mallows, 2009).

Ascendancy of mainstream European languages

Prescription of languages to be included in the primary MFL curriculum (DfE, 2013b), and approval for bilingual free schools which focussed on French, German and Spanish, were the clearest indication of the priority awarded to mainstream European languages by policy makers. Pupil data at three schools (WM1, WM2, L1) indicated this priority also held within schools too, where the majority of language learning activities pupils recounted focussed on mainstream European languages. Where practitioners discussed the issue of whether home languages could also form a part of the curriculum, they justified a focus on mainstream European languages using the ‘utility of languages outside of school’ subtheme. In the case that one practitioner (WY1, extract 6.4) supported the suggestion that home languages could be learned, this was in terms of an annual event, or up to three times a year. The value of mainstream European languages over home languages for the MFL curriculum was in this way confirmed among participating practitioners.

Mixed messages on home language learning and use

Advice schools receive in relation to teaching bilingual pupils tends to change with different governments. The New Labour Primary National Strategy encouraged practitioners to engage with and ‘build on’ children’s knowledge of other languages, whereas the current guidance on the primary curriculum (DfE, 2013c) makes no reference to bilingual children’s home languages. The ambivalence at policy level is reflected among the practitioners included in this study, who drew on the ‘primacy of English’ and ‘HL use and learning as beneficial’ repertoires in almost equal measure (44 and 36 instances respectively).

It is possible the ‘surface level use/learning of HL’ is in part a product of this ambivalence, where teachers feel they should be acknowledging bilingual children’s home languages to some degree, but are not prepared to engage with them in any depth. This interpretation would certainly align with Drury and Safford’s observation that education policy in England encouraged ‘teachers and schools to celebrate children’s linguistic diversity but ... does not require or promote mainstream teachers’ linguistic knowledge and training.’ (Safford and Drury, 2013: 73)

Reduced and sporadic access to EAL guidance, support and CPD

The restructuring of the education system under the coalition government (2010-2015), not only meant that less guidance was provided centrally on appropriate pedagogy for bilingual pupils, but also, the progress which was being made through the TDA to understand the nature of EAL provision and training and address the issues arising, was halted. It is hard to draw conclusions about these policy decisions based on a small-scale study as this one, however, some of the practitioner voices highlight some of the issues related to this direction of policy.

Concerns regarding the relationship between mainstream teachers and EAL specialists (Andrews, 2009), are reflected in the ‘EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive’ repertoire. Of the ten instances of this repertoire, however, only two were voiced by participants in primary data collection activities of this study. Specialist support and training was also only mentioned in one group discussion (WM2). This may suggest school leaders and practitioners on the whole do not see EAL provision as necessarily problematic. Given the dearth of guidance from the DfE in this area, this too may also reflect the current

policy position. The imbalance between the instances of counterbilingual talk (N=119) and probilingual talk (N=62) overall, however, does suggest a need for more EAL specialist support.

Analysis of the instances of the ‘HL use and learning as beneficial’ repertoire, shows that about a third of the statements were made by practitioners either working with specialists (Kenner and Ruby, 2012a, Conteh, 2011, Cable et al., 2004, Barnard and Burgess, 2000, WM2) or who were specialists themselves (EAL). The more robust forms of probilingual practice certainly appeared in talk from these sources. This indicates the important role EAL specialists have in promoting probilingual perspectives. The prevalence of counterbilingual discourse underlies the need for more specialist support in this area.

7.1.3 Practitioner perspectives as repertoires

The purpose of introducing the concept of ‘repertoire’ into the study was primarily to provide a framework within which practitioner discourse could be organised. Thematic analysis provided a systematic and transparent method for identifying 10 repertoires in relation to bilingual children’s use and learning of their home language. In the analysis at individual school level, it was possible to describe the progress of the conversations in terms of the repertoires participants drew on, and draw conclusions about the extent to which their discourse represented a probilingual or counterbilingual position. In fact, each repertoire plays a role in moving the conversation in one direction or the other, which I discuss in more detail in section 7.2.1. This, added to the occurrence of repertoires across settings (see section 6.1.7, table 6.2), suggests they can be described as ‘solid, real and independent of the speaker’ (Potter and Wetherell, 1995).

While the discussion of the concept of repertoires in section 3.2 included reference to cultural sociology interpretations of repertoire for explanatory links with structuration theory, data in the research also suggested that this broader interpretation of the concept of ‘repertoire’ to include actions and artefacts might also be appropriate here. For example, the ‘surface level use / learning of HL’ repertoire includes reference to ‘greetings’ and ‘welcome words’. It could be argued that ‘visual cues’ (extract 6.6) and answering the register in home languages (extract 6.20) also belong as ‘symbolic vehicles of meaning’ (Swidler, 1986) to the ‘surface level use / learning of HL’ repertoire. Dual language books, on the other hand, are a physical expression of the ‘home language use and learning as beneficial’, while the reading diary, alluded to in the conversation at L1 (extract 6.31) occupies a contested space between ‘home language use and learning as beneficial’ and ‘primacy of English’, depending on whether its suggested use includes reference to literacy activity in home languages or is restricted to English-only.

7.1.4 Structuration theory and practitioner perspectives

In applying structuration theory to the data in this study, one of the most difficult questions to answer is what structure belonging to which social system is being described? In practitioner group discussions in two of the schools (WY1, WM2), there was relative consistency across speakers of the repertoires they drew on, and there was no evidence of challenge to those rules which became apparent in practitioner discourse data. The structures which were described therefore, could be viewed as those of the school in both cases. In the case of WM2, that structure included an impetus to be open to change and questioning practice, as the

recurrence of the 'accepting responsibility' repertoire across participants indicated.

In WM1, on the other hand, it was hard to identify a school 'culture' which informed the talk of all participants. Participants seemed to be working to rules which were not shared: neither TA1's enthusiastic encouragement of the use of English at home, nor TA2's assumption that it is better for less able bilingual children to only use English, elicited support from others in the group. Structuration theory would suggest that these practitioners are drawing on the culture of the other social systems to which they belong. These might be identified as ethnic groups, or class, as Willis referred to (1977).

In the case of L1 and WY2, there was not so much a disparity of perspectives in the group discussions, as a conflict of perspectives, as T1 and T3 in each setting respectively championed reading in the home language against discourse from other practitioners which supported the status quo. A rule in both schools apparent from their colleagues' talk was that the focus of literacy learning should be English language texts. In challenging this rule, however, the question arises of which culture / social system T1 and T3 were drawing on when they made their challenge. The thematic analysis helps to answer this question, by enabling the identification of the company these practitioners keep in making arguments to promote reading in the home language. These are EAL co-ordinators, individual teachers in other schools, and teachers in studies focussing on specialist EAL pedagogy. This 'social system' is diffuse, these practitioners have probably never met each other, but they share a repertoire and the values they express.

A conclusion which can be drawn from this is that there are parallel cultures within the education system which cut across schools. The school itself is not always a self-contained culture, but is also a potential arena of conflict between different cultures within the education system, as illustrated by Creese (2003). In the case of this study, probilingual and counterbilingual cultures are promoted and contested, and the analysis of discourse enables an understanding of how and where this unfolds. An indicator that practitioners were at the boundary of the two cultures, and in the process of developing their understanding of practice, was the use of the ‘accepting responsibility’ repertoire, deploying phrases such as ‘we don’t really know’, ‘I’m not sure that we do’, ‘I wish we were better’ (see Appendix M, codebook). The identification of this talk in the reflective activity of the group discussions, can also be seen in the de Courcy study (2007) - where phrases such as ‘did not think’, ‘did not know’, and ‘naïveté’ were indicative of teachers in a training situation. I discuss in more detail the role repertoires play in practitioners’ negotiation of the boundary between pro- and counterbilingual practice in section 7.2.1.

7.2 To what extent do practitioners express a position which represents additive or subjective bilingualism?

7.2.1 Practitioner talk as probilingual and counterbilingual

The review of evidence on pedagogy and outcomes for bilingual children in chapter one established a series of principles for a probilingual curriculum. These were that practitioners should:

- support home language literacy development

- provide opportunities for bilingual children to use / engage with the home language
- encourage family engagement in children's learning
- sustain support for bilingualism over time.

Practice which undermined these principles was designated counterbilingual. By analyzing practitioner talk against these principles and corresponding examples of practice, it was possible to establish eight of the ten repertoires as broadly pro- or counterbilingual. These were:

Prolingual

2. Home language use / learning as beneficial
4. Accepting responsibility

Counterbilingual

1. Primacy of English
3. Locating responsibility away
5. EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive
6. School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous
7. Home language use as subversive
8. Utility of home language in classroom / school

Two repertoires, 'well-being' and 'surface level use / learning of home language', could not be so easily categorised based on thematic analysis alone.

However, it emerged from the analysis of repertoires in the context of group discussions, that the repertoires play different roles in conversation. The ‘primacy of English’ and ‘home language use / learning as beneficial’ repertoires unequivocally describe practice which contributes to additive and subtractive practice respectively. The ‘well-being’, ‘surface level’, ‘accepting responsibility’, and ‘locating responsibility away’ repertoires, on the other hand, play an auxiliary role. ‘Well-being’ and ‘surface level use / learning of HL’ could be used to move discussion of practice in a probilingual or counterbilingual direction, depending on the context in which they were used (see section 6.3.5).

The ‘accepting responsibility’ repertoire signals a readiness to consider probilingual practice or describe action which had already been taken to support additive bilingualism. ‘Locating responsibility away’, on the other hand, provides reasons why practitioners could not implement probilingual practice.

Three additional repertoires ‘EAL skills and knowledge as exclusive’, ‘school focus on HL as something difficult’, and ‘home language use as subversive’, also play an auxiliary role in providing justification for practitioners not to engage in probilingual practice, and to this extent can be regarded as subsets of the ‘locating responsibility away’ repertoire.

Table 7.1 The role of the ten repertoires identified in the study

	Counterbilingual	↔	Probilingual
Key repertoires	1. <i>Primacy of English</i>		2. <i>HL use / learning as beneficial</i>
Auxiliary repertoires	3. <i>Locating responsibility away</i>	9. <i>Well-being</i>	4. <i>Accepting responsibility</i>
	5. <i>EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive</i>	10. <i>Surface level learning / use of HL</i>	
	6. <i>School focus on HL as something difficult and onerous</i>		
	7. <i>HL use as subversive</i>		
Transitional repertoire	8. <i>Utility of HL learning / use</i>		

The final repertoire, ‘utility of home language’, plays a particular role in practitioner talk about bilingual children’s use and learning of the home language. It reflects practice, which on the face of it, is permissive and even encouraging of home language use in the classroom. However, the use of the home language in this context is as a solution to a short-term problem, the need to integrate children with little English into classroom activity, and not a long-term strategy of language maintenance or language use for learning. The very use of the home language is a means to eventually achieve a monolingual environment. As Kenner

and colleagues put it, based on their experience with Bangladeshi-heritage children in schools in Tower Hamlets:

Bangla is used for transitional purposes only, as bilingual assistants help children new to English to understand what is being taught. Once children seem fluent in English, Bangla is no longer used for learning in class. Children are sometimes asked to translate if a new pupil arrives with little English. Teachers may allow children to talk in Bangla during a class activity, but tend to be concerned that such talk could go off-task, or that non-Bangla speaking children would feel excluded. As a result, classrooms are largely monolingual spaces, producing a linguistic divide in children's lives. (Kenner et al., 2008: 124)

In this regard, the 'utility of home language learning / use' repertoire is appropriately assigned as counterbilingual. It is a tolerance and encouragement of home language use which leads to the 'unintended consequence' (Giddens, 1986) of monolingualism.

7.2.2 Discourse of well-being vs discourse of learning

Organising learning for bilingual children is one concern among many for the practitioners participating in this research. Practice which has a bearing on bilingual children's use and learning of the home language is unlikely to have been developed with this focus in mind: the discourse data here did not suggest that practitioners thought of their practice in terms of additive or subtractive bilingualism. 'Counterbilingual' and 'probilingual' culture are my constructs. However, considering practitioner talk in relation to bilingual learners within a

wider context of approaches to teaching and learning more generally, may shed light on this wider culture.

The regular appearance of the ‘well-being’ repertoire across the discussions at three of the schools speaks itself of a concern for children’s emotional state. In addition, however, the repertoire played a role in determining what practice was good and what bad: ‘well-being’ was invoked to reject the suggestion children should be told not to speak in their home language, to advocate classroom activities based on home languages, but also to protect bilingual children from being ‘forced’ to read in their home language. To this extent the ‘well-being’ repertoire appears to represent an underlying motive or principle for teaching – that children should feel comfortable in lessons.

The finding aligns with research conducted elsewhere. Patricia Broadfoot (2000), for example, identified a fundamental difference in approach and underlying principles between teachers in France and England. French teachers’ concept of equality was that every child should have the same learning experience, and they were more likely to expect a child to continue on the same task as other pupils until they successfully completed it. In England, the tendency was for teachers to differentiate according to individual needs, to focus more on relationship building, and to ensure that children were happy. It is particularly the focus on relationship building and ensuring children are happy which resonates with the finding here.

However, the readiness of French teachers to challenge all pupils to achieve the same level was also striking compared with practice in England, where teachers rearranged tasks to make them more accessible. It may be suggested that the same principle was at work in the way the ‘well-being’ repertoire was deployed at L1 to

counter the suggestions of an imposition of challenge on bilingual learners: ‘you don’t want to force children if they don’t want to read in their own language’, as well as behind the suggestion by TA2 at WM1 that bilingual children with ‘learning difficulties’ should focus on English only (it was only ‘bright’ children who could cope with ‘the language barrier’ – extract 6.15).

The question then arises as to whether too much concern about the well-being of individual children might interfere with the setting of challenges for learning. Lack of challenge in English schools has certainly been raised by Ofsted (2013), and even by pupils themselves (CUREE, 2008). The way that the topic of translation is handled in the conversations in this current study can be seen as symbolic of this discourse of well-being versus discourse of learning discussion. As long as talk is about translation as a tool to aid integration, and therefore focus on a bilingual child’s well-being, it belongs to a culture of transition. The challenge, both for pupils and for practitioners, is the use of translation as an activity for learning, in the ways Sneddon observed in the dual language project she observed in an East London school (2013). Used as a means for learning, translation involves: ‘comprehension of the vocabulary from the source text, comprehension of the meaning, reformulation of the message into the target language and judging the adequacy of the new text. The cognitive skills involved in this process make translation the ‘metalinguistic skill *par excellence*’ (Sneddon, 2013: 437-438). Descriptions of how translation is used in multilingual classrooms can therefore be seen as a litmus test for where practitioners are on the probilingual-counterbilingual spectrum.

In line with the discussion in this thesis with regard to inertia of practice (see section 3.3), Broadfoot concluded that the underlying values of education in both

France and England were deep-rooted, and despite attempts at reform to alter teaching practice, the ethos on which practice was based had made this difficult, and that general approaches to teaching were resistant to change. This has implications for policy makers and researchers who advocate additive bilingual practice. I discuss these in section 7.5.

7.2.3 Changing perspectives depending on practitioner characteristics

While not a key focus of the research, some interesting patterns emerged of different responses to the survey prompts according to the characteristics of practitioners, and these find echoes in other research.

In comparing early career teachers with more experienced colleagues, more experienced colleagues responded with more certainty about their practice. Structuration theory may suggest that for these practitioners, longevity of service means the rules, and so routine are more established. According to the survey, more experienced practitioners were also more likely to espouse probilingual practice, reflecting the findings of Vaish's study of Singaporean teachers (2012). This suggests greater ease with home languages being spoken in the classroom, possibly because of the 'ontological security' longer serving practitioners experience by being more certain of the structures within which they work.

Teachers in training, on the other hand, were less likely to be probilingual in their responses. Survey responses showed this group was less certain in their practice too (more likely to tick the 'I'm inclined/not inclined' options, rather than 'I do/don't'). This counterbilingual stance and uncertainty came through, not only from the quantitative survey results, but also was apparent in the thematic

analysis. Nine of the fifteen survey free text comments giving reasons for not developing probilingual practice were made by teachers in training.

Again, the finding aligns with research elsewhere which has found concern among new teachers at a lack of preparedness to teach bilingual children (Safford and Drury, 2013).

A difference also appeared in the survey responses between Early Years / KS1 practitioners, on the one hand, and KS2 colleagues on the other, with the former group more likely to favour probilingual practice. Policy advice targeted at Early Years (Standards and Testing Agency, 2013) highlights the value of home language use among bilingual children, and this may indicate greater sensitivity among policy makers and practitioners in this phase to issues around language, and possibly a wider tolerance of the differences children bring to school with them. Discourse among practitioners at WM2 (section 6.3.3) and of transition more generally across the schools, reinforces the perception that home language use becomes less tolerated, and so practice and discourse becomes more counterbilingual, the older primary children become.

7.3 To what extent do pupils' perceptions of teaching staff practice align with practitioner accounts?

The scope of the research design meant that this study could only provide a limited response to the third research question. Without observation data of classroom interaction, the analysis relies on pupil accounts of teacher practice. Structuration theory suggests these accounts are likely to differ to those of practitioners on the basis that there are 'differences between what can be said and what is characteristically simply done' (Giddens, 1984).

In the event, the pupil group discussion data was also limited, and while a general consensus of descriptions of practice between the two sources emerged, claims about any particular aspect of practice reported here rely on analysis of pupil experiences reported in related research (Kenner and Ruby, 2012b, Conteh, 2011) for substantiation. The findings here align with those elsewhere in the literature in terms of the transitional nature of home language use in the classroom (Kenner et al., 2008, Cable et al., 2004), a lack of interest in bilingual children's learning beyond the school (Conteh and Brock 2006), and failure to consider home languages as a focus for foreign language learning in the curriculum (Driscoll, 2004, Ofsted 2005).

7.4 How receptive are practitioners to messages of additive bilingual practice based on evidence?

The evidence from this study suggests different degrees of readiness on the part of practitioners to adopt probilingual practice. Two aspects of the wider structures within which practitioners operate have been suggested as having a bearing on inertia to adopt more probilingual practice: low tolerance for languages other than English, and a concern for pupils' well-being. Given the implications for individuals of challenging existing structures (Giddens, 1986), and adapting existing or adopting new repertoires (Swidler, 1986, Vaisey, 2010), it should be anticipated that practitioners would not accept easily suggestions for approaches to pedagogy which are not already a part of their practice. However, as discussed by Garrett, there are differences in individuals' readiness to engage with alternative practice (2016). Both phenomena can be observed in this study, in the way that different participants took opposing positions in terms of their reactions

to suggestions for probilingual practice. This was particularly apparent in the discussions held at L1 and WY2.

Suggestions for strong forms of probilingual practice, in particular encouraging literacy in the home language or making links with complementary schools, were countered with arguments locating responsibility away, or with suggestions for weaker forms probilingual practice, with particular reference to the ‘surface level use / learning of HL’ repertoire (extracts 6.32, 6.40). Where discussion of probilingual practice went unchallenged, it was the head teacher at WM2 who was advocating the practice.

While a number of practitioners in the study across a range of schools championed probilingual practice suggested in the survey and group discussion prompts, when it came to making the case with colleagues who took a counterbilingual position, in only one case did they prevail. This may be indicative of largely counterbilingual structures the practitioners operate within, but also should not be surprising given the limited nature of engagement with evidence the research design for this particular study made possible. This is where a practitioner enquiry, along the lines of the action research described in section 4.3.2 would have been helpful in identifying whether practitioner perspectives might change over time.

Kenner et al (2011) demonstrated how practitioner understanding of the benefits of probilingual practice can develop in response to interaction with specialist expertise and engagement with pupils. There is some evidence in the case of WM2 of the impact that specialist input can have on discourse within schools, where the head teacher described encouraging parents to speak in the home

language with their children, and how it was an advisor who had given her this confidence to do so.

To this extent, the study supports the idea of inertia described in both theories of structuration and repertoires (chapter three), and so the need for sustained CPD with specialist input if longer term changes in perspectives are to be made (Timperley et al., 2007).

7.5 Implications

7.5.1 Implications for practice

The review of evidence concerning practice and outcomes for bilingual children in chapter one formed the basis of a set of principles for a curriculum which contributes to additive bilingualism. The first implication for practice, therefore, is that practitioners should design learning in accordance with these principles, so that:

- opportunities are taken to promote and support literacy learning in the home language
- bilingual children have opportunities to use / engage with the home language
- families are engaged in children's learning, and their linguistic and cultural knowledge contribute to learning
- support for bilingual learning is sustained over time.

The principles of encouraging literacy activities (Gibbons, 2009) and family engagement (Aitken and Sinnema, 2008) are part of good practice in any case,

and yet the value of this when it comes to home languages was not always obvious to practitioners in the study. In order to understand why this is the case, a more fundamental assessment of underlying beliefs and assumptions may be called for. Practitioners might ask themselves what their aims are specifically for their bilingual pupils; whether the languages have value, and why this is so; whether pupils' ability to use their home language has value - for their learning - for their life outside school - for their life beyond school and the world of work.

Practitioners might look specifically at the role translation plays in the classroom. Is it just for integration and transition, or for broader language learning and linguistic development? Do bilingual children have the opportunity to translate from texts in the home language, or even from audio or video sources?

The classroom environment itself might be reviewed from the perspective of languages spoken in the classroom. Are the languages visible on posters or children's own work? If home languages are visible and used in the classroom, how deep and sustained is that learning? Is it comparable to the way children learn mainstream European languages? How could all children's wider literacy learning benefit from the study of home languages?

Finally, practitioners might reflect on the 'rules' of the classroom, when it comes to bilingual children's home language use. How do children perceive when and how they can use their home language? If there are times when English is insisted on, what is the rationale behind this?

For guidance on developing probilingual practices, school leaders and practitioners may refer to the NALDIC website¹¹, Kenner and Ruby's (2012b) *Interconnecting Worlds*, and Jean Conteh's (2006) *Promoting learning for bilingual pupils*.

7.5.2 Implications for policy

The study set out to establish what primary practitioner perspectives are in relation to their bilingual pupils' use and learning of their home language in the face of evidence that teachers should be supporting this, but that this is not widespread practice in mainstream schools. The study has reviewed several examples of how probilingual practice can be introduced and carried out in English primary schools, and identified local and national partners who are helping schools do this. In the light of current cuts to local authority funding, the drive towards academisation of schools, and increased focus on maths and English, it is likely that EAL support, already patchy, may slide further down the list of priorities. However, the evidence in this study is that, if this happens, it is to the detriment of bilingual pupils' overall academic progress. There are several implications for policy makers and school strategic partners based on the findings of this study.

Firstly, the group discussions revealed that counterbilingual discourse can be challenged, but that practitioner perspectives are unlikely to shift if the challenge is not sustained and does not have the weight of authority behind it. The example of where probilingual discourse had been adopted at WM2 was the result of specialist intervention plus the leadership of the head teacher. The finding

¹¹ <https://naldic.org.uk/>

supports the argument that a sustained model of CPD intervention of the type described by Kenner and Ruby (2012) is what is required if perspectives are to change. These models should be promoted by national and local policy makers.

Secondly, a precondition of change is that practitioners are made aware of the consequences of their practice in suppressing home language use and learning. While participants often rejected the suggestion that home language use in the classroom was subversive, and encouraged at least some engagement with home languages, the prevalence of the ‘utility of HL learning / use’ repertoire reflected a transitional stance, which in effect undermines the status and use of the home language, in effect depriving pupils of access to their home language, and so to their culture, as well as a useful support for learning. Wherever possible, those responsible for schools’ policy should raise awareness of the nature of transitional bilingualism, and highlight the fact that, in the light of evidence, it is an undesirable outcome socially and academically.

Thirdly, the explication of repertoires in this study can support the preparation of CPD in relation to teaching and learning for bilingual pupils. The ‘locating responsibility away’ and associated counterbilingual repertoires clarify the arguments leaders of CPD can expect to encounter for why probilingual practice should not be adopted. Understanding this provides the opportunity to prepare counter-arguments and examples in advance. For example, practitioners in this study drew on the ‘quantity of languages’ subtheme to justify not adopting probilingual practice, and yet the suggestions for partnership working with parents and complementary schools, mean that practitioners can create the conditions for improved literacy learning in home languages, for example, rather than take on the responsibility for literacy learning in each individual language. School leaders

and practitioners can be given case study examples of how primary schools, such as those in Tower Hamlets, have made connections with complementary providers to enrich language learning for all pupils, and so enable practitioners to envisage how they might proceed in a similar way.

Teachers also used the ‘well-being’ repertoire to justify not pushing children too hard in learning home languages. When community languages were introduced into school life, it was at a surface level and for purposes of integration. Yet the evidence points to the benefits of a more robust engagement with home languages, including exploring more the opportunities the presence of community languages in the classroom provide for deeper learning of the nature of language and language structures.

In general, greater emphasis should be made in highlighting the importance of linguistic knowledge and ability more generally among primary practitioners. Just as the DfE is investing significantly to ensure all primary teachers have a firm grasp of mathematics pedagogy through the promotion of particular models, so mainstream literacy policy should include a requirement for primary practitioners to develop expertise in linguistics more generally. Done well, this would mean practitioners are better placed to make links to and exploit the foreign languages available in the classroom in their literacy teaching, as well as appreciate the value of continued use and learning of home languages by their bilingual pupils. A focus and reporting by Ofsted on this aspect of languages and literacy development in schools would go some way to changing perceptions of what constitutes good practice in the area of EAL, so they are more in line with the evidence.

In relation to this, a broader view should be taken on what languages are appropriate for the primary MFL curriculum. Practitioner discourse in the study tended to favour mainstream European languages, although the discussions did open up participants' thinking on this matter in at least one case. The value of all languages as a vehicle for foreign language learning should be emphasised in policy advice to schools, backed up with resources, such as dual language books, to facilitate the adoption of community languages in the MFL curriculum. Again, schools should be encouraged to collaborate with neighbouring complementary settings to share and develop resources and expertise.

National policy makers should reconsider the impact on EAL support and advice for schools of the removal of organisations such as CILT and TDA. Where government has made mathematics a priority, it has established a network of CPD via maths hubs under the auspices of NCETM to ensure consistency of message and professional development coverage. A similar network to support evidence-based literacy learning, to include all languages resources available to schools, with the involvement of NALDIC, for example, could go some way to create a more consistently probilingual discourse in the profession.

More broadly speaking, policy makers should pay attention to the issue of bilingualism as one of equality and diversity. There is little evidence to suggest that it is growing up in bilingual households which has a negative impact on children's ability to progress academically, in fact the evidence which does exist suggests the opposite (Wilson et al., 2005). On the other hand, there is wide-ranging evidence that discouraging them from using and learning their home language leads to negative social and emotional outcomes, as set out in section 1.2.4. The conversations among practitioners in this study tended to move in a

counterbilingual direction. A bold aspiration, but one in line with current equality and diversity policy, would be to make use of a foreign language a protected characteristic, and so give a clear signal that the use and learning of home languages in schools and beyond is an important aspect of bilingual children's identity.

7.5.3 Implications for research

It would seem from my initial difficulties of gaining access to practitioners, that the topic of bilingualism is not one of immediate appeal to schools. In the end, it was the adoption of a more flexible research design, which introduced a pupil strand, as well as a stated focus on EAL as opposed to bilingualism, that were instrumental in encouraging heads to participate, and so helped me overcome this problem. In addition, it was mostly the schools I approached through personal contacts which participated. This underlines the importance for researchers to cultivate professional and social networks to be in a position to persuade others to engage with research.

Understanding the nature and significance of teacher talk in relation to bilingual pupils' use and learning of their home language required a series of steps in the research process. The first iteration of the thematic analysis based on existing discourse data in research reports provided a basis for identifying repertoires. The second and third iterations supplemented these data, and helped secure the descriptions and make appropriate adaptations to repertoires, and identify new ones. A total of 10 studies, and 11 practitioner groups (schools, PGCE course, EAL network) have provided data which make possible the claim that the repertoires exist across a range of contexts. The analysis of discourse data against

evidence for practice appropriate for bilingual pupils enabled the labelling of some repertoires as pro- or counterbilingual. However, it was only by analysing practitioner use of repertoires in context that it was possible to fully describe the role of repertoires in moving discourse in one direction or another. The implications of this for research, therefore, are that multiple and diverse sources of discourse data provide the basis for identifying a full range of repertoires, and that the nature of repertoires are more clearly understood by analysing their use in context.

The limits of surveys as an indicator of practice in schools are highlighted in the group discussions, both practitioner and pupil. For example, while practitioners in particular schools claimed to encourage reading at home, and were supported by some pupils in these claims, no practical examples were elicited when it came to pursuing these claims in group discussions. Surveys could at best serve to reflect intentions and impressions of practice. Nevertheless, the outcomes of the quantitative analysis of practitioner survey data did provide some support for the patterns of responses among different groups of practitioners were interesting and were to a certain extent supported by evidence from elsewhere.

The attempt to focus the research on KS1 proved to be ambitious, as in the end it was not possible to limit data collection to this group, and it could not be stated with any certainty that children in Years 5 and 6 were discussing practice they were currently experiencing or practice in KS1, not to mention the reliability of memory if the latter was the case. In retrospect, to conduct the research in an exclusively KS1 context, classroom observation would need to form a key part of the data collection.

Finally, there is no doubt that basing prompts for the survey and group discussions will have influenced the discourse elicited from practitioners. Again, classroom based data collection would have avoided this, and secured original discourse data. Nevertheless, there is evidence that, once on the topic of their bilingual pupils use and learning of home languages, the data collection methods did elicit original and personal perspectives on the part of participants.

7.6 Conclusion

In embarking on this study, I set out to understand more fully practitioner perspectives in relation to bilingual pupils' home language learning and use in English primary schools. This has primarily been achieved through a detailed description of practitioner talk in relation to bilingual pupils' use and learning of the home language, in the form of ten repertoires.

While the findings shed light on practitioner discourse in this area, and not practice, the literature review included an analysis of the evidence base relating to practice and outcomes for bilingual pupils. This resulted in the formulation of four key principles for a probilingual curriculum, which complement guidance elsewhere in the literature (eg Baker, 2006). The formulation of the four principles has made it possible to create greater clarity around the question of whether different aspects of practitioner talk in relation to home language use and learning can be designated as contributing to a discourse of additive or subtractive bilingualism.

By analysing the use of repertoires in conversations among practitioners, it has been possible to describe how their use not only serves to position a practitioner as advocating pro- or counterbilingual practice, but also how repertoires are used

to shift conversations away from advocacy for probilingual practice, and how practices contributing to transitional bilingualism are reflected in talk. The identification of the ten repertoires, therefore, has created a tool for analysing professional conversations around practice in relation to bilingual pupils' use and learning of their home language.

Whereas a trawl of the literature in the UK yielded 72 instances of practitioner talk in relation to the focus of this study, the data collection undertaken in this study supplemented these with a further 126 instances of talk which could be coded in relation to bilingual children's language use and learning. It was primary data from my own data collection which enabled the identification of the 'well-being' and 'surface-level use of HL' repertoires in practitioner talk which turned out to be key in shifting conversations away from more probilingual discourse. The use of these repertoires therefore requires particular attention, given the fact that, on the surface, they may appear to embrace positive values: showing a concern for well-being and promoting the use of home languages.

The use of structuration theory within the theoretical framework proved to have helpful explanatory power in terms of the role played by the 'well-being' repertoire, in that continuation of a monolingual culture is not necessarily what practitioners intend when they describe practice with a focus on 'well-being', but it is an unintended consequence when the repertoire is used to move discussion away from consideration of more probilingual practice.

The research highlights a mainly counterbilingual discourse across the settings included in the study. This aligns with evidence and commentary elsewhere in the literature with regard to practitioner perspectives on bilingualism, but sits uneasily

with evidence about appropriate practice with regards to bilingual pupils. The findings are occasion for practitioners and policy makers to reflect on how the messages they convey in relation to the use and learning of home languages.

In terms of further research, the study leaves several questions open in the area of bilingual education in England where further investigation would be helpful.

The first, obvious question, is whether teacher practice reflects the discourse reported in this thesis. Reports of practice in English primary schools in relation to bilingual pupils provide some insights into current practice, but there is a paucity of observational evidence across a range of settings from which to draw any firm conclusions about the use and learning of home languages in primary schools in England. Where bilingual pupils' classroom experience is the focus of future research, collecting of evidence of their use of and literacy engagement with the home language, along with descriptions of the accompanying practice would help shed light on the extent to which current practice promotes or undermines additive bilingualism.

Secondly, while discourse in this thesis has been characterised as contributing to additive or subtractive bilingualism, there is little concrete evidence that bilingual children's L1 language skills improve or decline over the course of their primary education. The only evidence I could draw on to consider this question in the literature review was at the most circumstantial: numbers of pupils taking exams in community languages and reports from business leaders about a lack of languages skills. Research which assessed pupils' language skills at the beginning of primary school and again at the end could provide a valuable dimension to understanding the links between discourse, practice and bilingual pupil outcomes.

Given the strengthened professional contacts that I now have with one of the schools involved in this study, access to update the research at least here may be permitted, and provide an opportunity to address some of these questions in more depth. It is my intention to bring the message of support for home language literacy to bear in a range of projects I am currently engaged in, as I am already doing in the primary school where I am governor.

From the review of evidence with regard to appropriate practice for bilingual pupils through to the analysis of practitioner discourse, particularly in those conversations where participants championed and contested probilingual practice, the thesis carries a message of how we should conceive equitable education for bilingual pupils. To this extent, I hope it provides a valuable contribution to this field of study.

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Colin Isham

**PRACTITIONER PERSPECTIVES ON
BILINGUAL PUPILS' USE AND LEARNING OF
THEIR HOME LANGUAGE IN ENGLISH
PRIMARY SCHOOLS**

Appendices to thesis

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Appendix A – Example research summary

EVIDENCE

BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Study 1: Which language should bilingual children learn in?

What kinds of curriculum did the children in this study experience?

School districts in the USA have developed an array of school programmes in an effort to accommodate the needs of bilingual children. Typical characteristics of the American system are:

- **bilingual** (teaching) in both English and the minority language
English as an Additional Language (EAL) support
mainstream/immersion English programmes (no special support for EAL pupils)
- **90-10** or **50-50** bilingual programmes, eg 90-10 = 90% teaching in the minority language (usually Spanish), 10% teaching in English
- **one-way** bilingual education – for EAL pupils only
two-way bilingual education – for both English native speakers and EAL pupils
- **developmental bilingual education (DBE)** – the amount of teaching in English increases year by year, but there is always some teaching in the minority language
transitional bilingual education (TBE) – the amount of teaching in English increases until all teaching is in English

What impact did the different types of education have on the children?

- EAL pupils immersed in the English mainstream with no bilingual/EAL support performed worst in reading and maths
- When EAL pupils initially attended special classes away from mainstream learners they did not close the achievement gap after re-joining the English mainstream
- The best outcomes for bilingual children were in:
 - 90-10 DBE programmes
 - 50-50 one-way and two-way DBE programme
- Children attending bilingual programmes (EAL and English native speakers) achieved better than children on English-only programmes in all subjects after 4-7 years of DBE schooling

What did the researchers conclude?

Bilingual/EAL content programmes must be well implemented, not segregated, and sustained long enough (5-6 years) for the achievement gap between EAL and native English speakers to be closed

What was the evidence?

The research took place in five school districts in the USA (Maine, Texas, Oregon) and involved studying over 210,000 school records and standardised test schools of children and young people aged 5-18 years attending a variety of programmes.

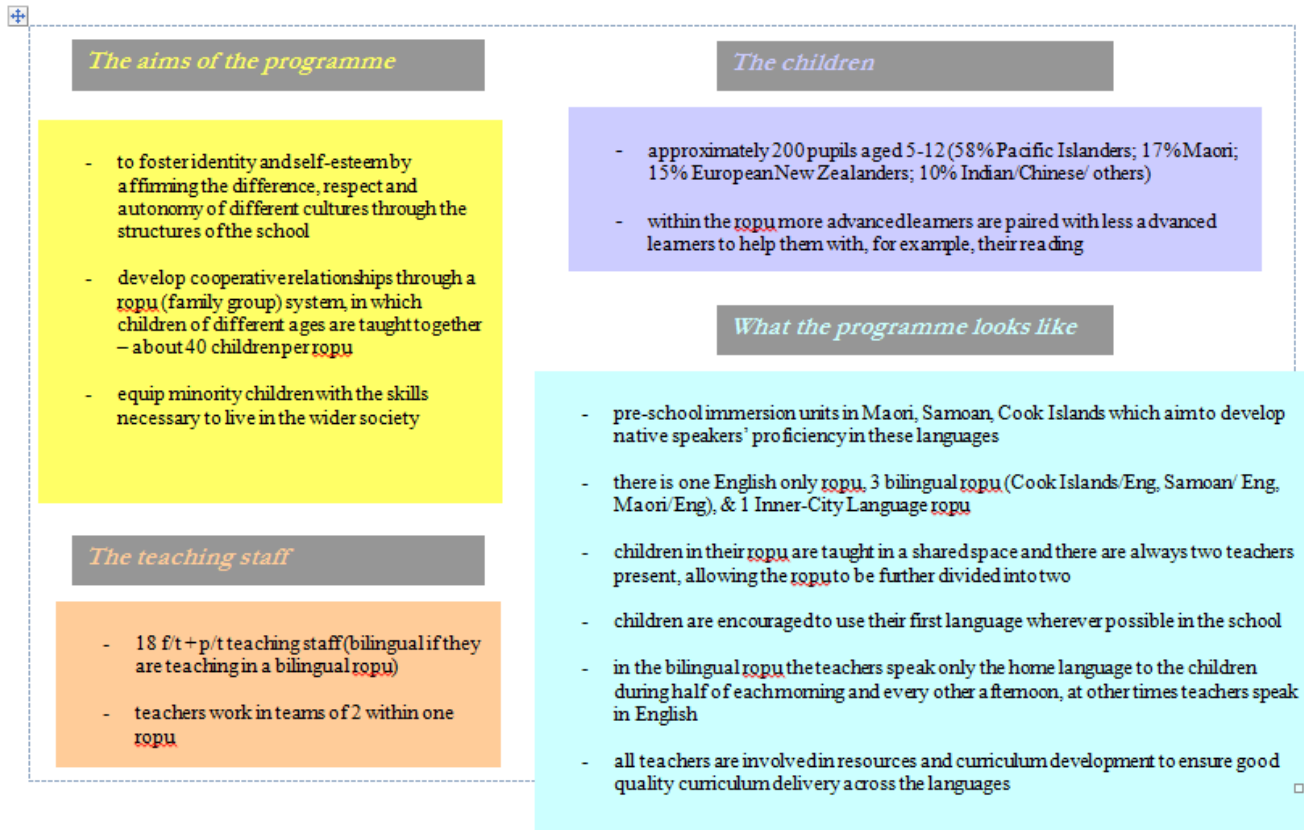
Source: Thomas W & Collier V (2002) *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement* Berkeley: CREDE. Available at:
http://crede.berkeley.edu/research/crede/research/llaa/1.1_final.html

This resource was created by Colin Isham and is free to share – you can contact Colin at comment@primarybilingual.com

Appendix B – Example map of model of bilingual education

Bilingual programmes – Richmond Road

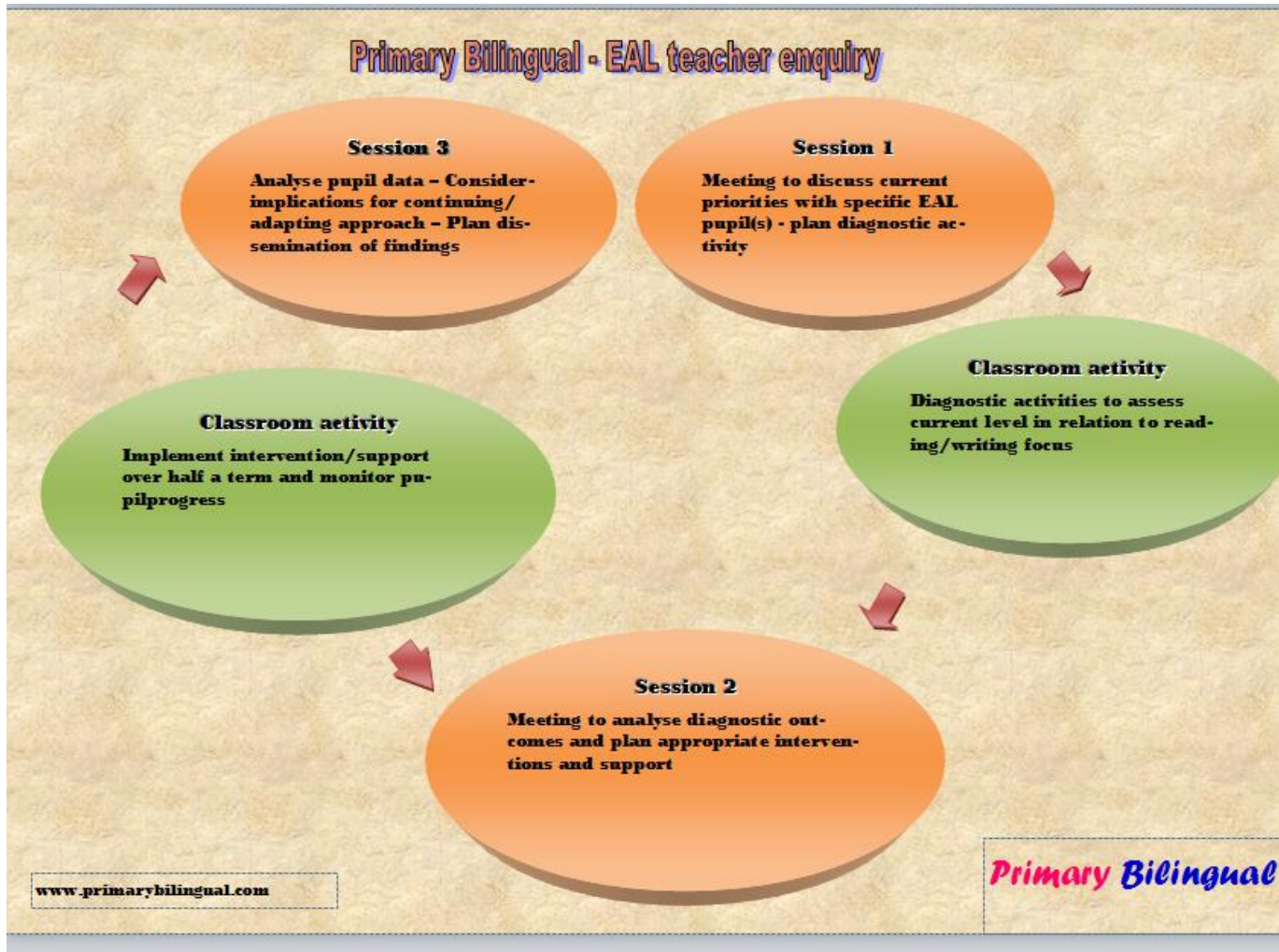
Richmond Road Primary School, Auckland, New Zealand



Based on the description on the schools website: <http://coralwaveelementary.dadeschools.net>

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Appendix C –Outline for practitioner enquiry



Appendix D – Example enquiry framework

MINI ENQUIRY BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Enquiry 1: How can learning their home language help bilingual children learn English?

Independent evidence

Evidence from a large body of research indicates the importance for bilingual children of continuing to develop competence in their home language. A large scale study conducted in the USA found that children (both EAL and English native speakers) performed better in all subjects after 4-7 years of bilingual education, than children attending English-only programmes i.

Your evidence

Are the bilingual children in your class also developing their home language skills? If so, where and how? Why not arrange a class project to find this out. With your learners you could prepare a simple questionnaire for them to ask each other in groups, including questions along the lines of:

- *what languages do you speak?*
- *who do you speak [language] with?*
- *are you learning to read and write [language]?*
- *where do you have lessons?*

Putting the evidence to work

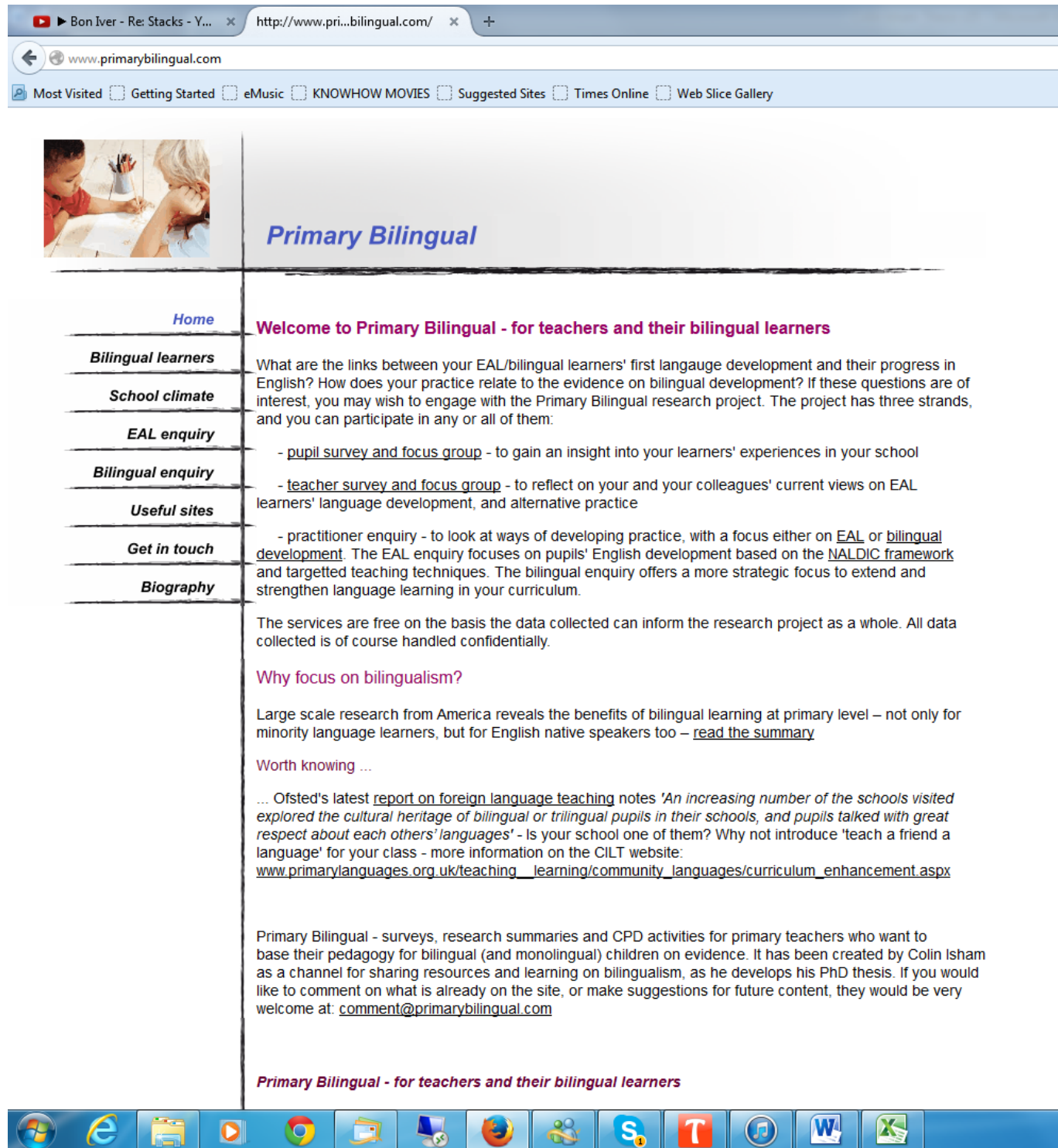
Use the evidence you have collected to map the opportunities for bilingual learning in your local area. You might want to use this information as a basis for discussing opportunities and practice for home language development at parents' evenings. You may also see opportunities to link with colleagues at other learning venues for joint CPD on language learning, curriculum development etc.

Finding out more

i Thomas W & Collier V (2002) *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement* Berkeley: CREDE. Available at:
http://crede.berkeley.edu/research/crede/research/laa/1.1_final.html

This resource was created by Colin Isham and is based on the 'research taster' design developed by CUREE for TLRP. It is free to share - find out more at www.primarybilingual.com

Appendix E – Screenshots of Primary Bilingual website



Primary Bilingual

Home

Welcome to Primary Bilingual - for teachers and their bilingual learners

Bilingual learners

What are the links between your EAL/bilingual learners' first language development and their progress in English? How does your practice relate to the evidence on bilingual development? If these questions are of interest, you may wish to engage with the Primary Bilingual research project. The project has three strands, and you can participate in any or all of them:

School climate

EAL enquiry

- [pupil survey and focus group](#) - to gain an insight into your learners' experiences in your school

Bilingual enquiry

- [teacher survey and focus group](#) - to reflect on your and your colleagues' current views on EAL learners' language development, and alternative practice

Useful sites

- [practitioner enquiry](#) - to look at ways of developing practice, with a focus either on [EAL](#) or [bilingual development](#). The EAL enquiry focuses on pupils' English development based on the [NALDIC framework](#) and targeted teaching techniques. The bilingual enquiry offers a more strategic focus to extend and strengthen language learning in your curriculum.

Get in touch

Biography

The services are free on the basis the data collected can inform the research project as a whole. All data collected is of course handled confidentially.

Why focus on bilingualism?

Large scale research from America reveals the benefits of bilingual learning at primary level – not only for minority language learners, but for English native speakers too – [read the summary](#)

Worth knowing ...

... Ofsted's latest [report on foreign language teaching](#) notes 'An increasing number of the schools visited explored the cultural heritage of bilingual or trilingual pupils in their schools, and pupils talked with great respect about each others' languages' - Is your school one of them? Why not introduce 'teach a friend a language' for your class - more information on the CILT website: www.primarylanguages.org.uk/teaching_learning/community_languages/curriculum_enhancement.aspx

Primary Bilingual - surveys, research summaries and CPD activities for primary teachers who want to base their pedagogy for bilingual (and monolingual) children on evidence. It has been created by Colin Isham as a channel for sharing resources and learning on bilingualism, as he develops his PhD thesis. If you would like to comment on what is already on the site, or make suggestions for future content, they would be very welcome at: comment@primarybilingual.com

Primary Bilingual - for teachers and their bilingual learners



Primary Bilingual

Home

School climate for promoting languages

Bilingual learners

There are a number of ways teachers and schools can encourage their learners to develop skills in all their languages. These include:

School climate

EAL enquiry

Bilingual enquiry

- encouraging children to speak in their home language at home and with friends
- encouraging literacy learning in the home language as well as in English
- creating an environment where it ok to speak different languages, even if not everyone understands
- using the different languages children bring into class as a learning opportunity

Useful sites

To date over 250 primary pupils have completed the survey. An interesting picture is emerging of the balance teachers strike in promoting English and home languages. Have a look at the provisional survey report [here](#).

Get in touch

If you would like to know how much this is happening in your school, why not arrange for your learners to take part in a short (20 minute) survey. You will receive a school report like the one below providing you with your pupils' account of their experience. If you are interested, e-mail Colin Isham at comment@primarybilingual.com.

Biography



Click her for an [example school report](#). In addition the Primary Bilingual project also offers a follow up pupil focus group to explore the issues raised in the survey in more depth. A parallel teacher survey and focus group will provide a full picture and encourage staff to reflect in more depth on their practice and the evidence about bilingual pupils.

Appendix F – Leaflet to advertise research to schools



The Primary Bilingual enquiry has been designed by Colin Isham (CUREE*) - the project lasts one term, during which you will receive support to:

- plan your enquiry,
- collect and analyse pupil data, and
- assess implications for your practice

all the while deepening your knowledge and understanding of the best available research in teaching and learning

To find out more visit www.primarybilingual.com or e-mail Colin at: cisham@hotmail.com

*Colin Isham is Principal Research Manager at the Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education (www.curee.co.uk). He is carrying out the Primary Bilingual project as part of his PhD

Appendix G – Examples of progression tables based on NALDIC formative descriptors

Primary Bilingual

EAL KS1 progression - Reading

A – Recognition and comprehension at word level

1. new to English	2. Beginning to comprehend and use routine language	3. Developing range of social and classroom language	4. Extending range of language and experimenting with learning through English	5. Consolidating language use and extending literacy skills	6. Becoming competent users of English	7. Competent users of English
Can recognise and name some letters and words which they encounter frequently and for which the meaning is given	Can recognise and understand words and short word clusters in English if familiar from a range of activities / and will be beginning to identify initial and final sounds of familiar words and words with the same initial sound	Can identify familiar words in text	Can demonstrate understanding of technical vocabulary in a familiar range of curriculum topics	Will be demonstrating understanding that some familiar words can carry different meanings	Can comprehend most texts at a literal level and will be developing an ability to draw inferences	Can comprehend all texts relevant to their age

EAL KS1 progression – Writing

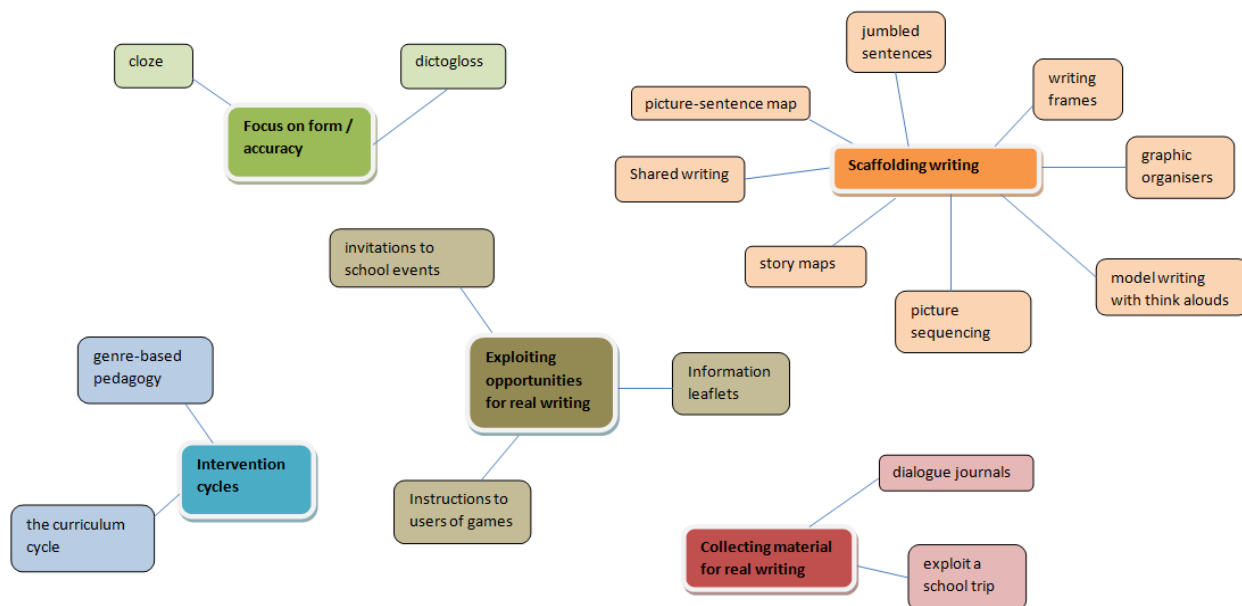
A – Extending genres

1. new to English	2. Beginning to comprehend and use routine language	3. Developing range of social and classroom language	4. Extending range of language and experimenting with learning through English	5. Consolidating language use and extending literacy skills	6. Becoming competent users of English	7. Competent users of English
Can copy words or very short groups of words where visual support is given or with help from others	Can copy or jointly construct words and short phrases	Will be beginning to construct their own very short elementary texts (eg on experiences at home and at school, on family, pets, recounts) in a range of genres, most of which may require considerable scaffolding (eg procedures, reports and descriptions)	Can write short simple versions of an increasing number of text types on familiar topics (eg letters, descriptions, recounts)	Can write with some fluency texts of limited length and on familiar topics when the text is of a familiar type (eg descriptions, narratives)	Can write most texts at the level expected for their age, eg narratives, instructions etc	Will be able to write texts in a range of genres, for different purposes and audiences and in different subject areas

Appendix H – Strategies for developing English language and literacy skills, map and example summaries

Primary Bilingual

Writing interventions



This resource was created by Colin Isham as part of the Primary Bilingual project – please e-mail back any adaptations you make to: colin.isham@primarybilingual.com Visit www.primarybilingual.com for more information.

Dictogloss

- select a text which models what you would like the children to produce
- write the topic word of the text on the board and ask the class what they understand by the term, eliciting a definition
- ask the children to volunteer any information they already know about the topic
- tell the group they are going to do a kind of dictation on a text about the topic
- read the text at normal speed, but children do not write anything
- read a second time at normal speed and children listen and take notes, writing down key words and phrases
- children then work in pairs, putting their notes together to create a text
- read the text a third time, and children note down anything they've missed, and then revise their text
- give out photocopies of the text for students to compare with their own version, noting down any differences

(Hedge, 2005)

Exploit a school trip

on day of excursion take photographs of all that is seen and done

encourage children to take field notes and sketch what they see


back in class ask children to explain to others something interesting they saw / heard about

show children photographs of the day as prompts and encourage them to recount the day's events, and order the photographs accordingly

leave the photographs on display for the children to use as a prompt for writing

(Gibbons, 2002)

Appendix I – Revised leaflet advertising research to schools




PRIMARY BILINGUAL RESEARCH PROJECT

What are the links between your EAL learners' home language acquisition and their progress in English?

How does your practice relate to the evidence on bilingual development?

If these questions are of interest, you may wish to engage with the Primary Bilingual research project. The project has three strands, and you can participate in any or all of them:

1. pupil survey and focus group - to gain an insight into learners' experiences in your school
2. teacher survey and focus group - to reflect on your and your colleagues' current views on EAL learners' language development, and consider alternative practice
3. practitioner enquiry - to look at ways of developing practice, focussing either on:
 - EAL - this enquiry looks at pupils' English development utilising the NALDIC framework and targeted EAL techniques, or
 - bilingual development - this enquiry offers a more strategic focus to extend and strengthen language learning in your curriculum.



If you participate in the pupil and/or teacher surveys you will receive an analysis report for your cohort. For an example of what the report looks like go to www.primarybilingual.com and click on 'School Climate' link.

Resources for the enquiry


EAL

C = Engaging with whole text

1. Access to English	2. Engaging to comprehend and use English	3. Developing range of oral and written language	4. Extending range of oral and written language	5. Consolidating language and developing literacy skills	6. Developing conceptual skills of English	7. Consolidating skills of English
They exhibit reading-like behaviour, e.g. choosing a book, lifting and looking at a book, turning pages, looking at the pictures	Will respond to text and demonstrate understanding of the main ideas in a simple story when supported by clear illustrations, gestures, repetition and sounds	Can read short familiar texts with contextual support (e.g. words and phrases, short passages, rhymes) / Can read visual texts with some confidence (e.g. a diagram in science)	Can read independently, but may need support when required to read aloud	Will be becoming active and confident readers of English in a range of genres or thematic topics	Can understand and read independently a greater range of concept texts (e.g. technical texts)	Can comprehend all texts relevant to their age

A skills map provides an overview of a range of EAL interventions for implementing or adapting. You will be supported in the diagnostic activity, selection of intervention, and monitoring of pupil progress. For a full size version of the interventions map, go to www.primarybilingual.com and click on the 'EAL enquiry' link.

Bilingualism

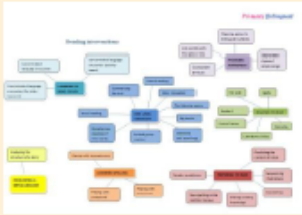


The bilingualism enquiry is based on one of a number of frameworks which:

- introduce you to the evidence on bilingual development
- help you understand your current practice in relation to the research, using evidence from your own setting
- guide you on how to use this evidence to develop your own practice/strategies.

Practitioner enquiries are an excellent way for you to begin your own research into EAL and bilingualism. You will also receive support for exploring how your work can be accredited.

The services are free, on the basis the data collected can inform the research project as a whole. All data collected is of course handled confidentially. If you are interested or would like to find out more, please contact Colin Isham at comment@primarybilingual.com, or



Appendix J – Example school report

Primary Bilingual

Primary Bilingual Pupil Survey Report

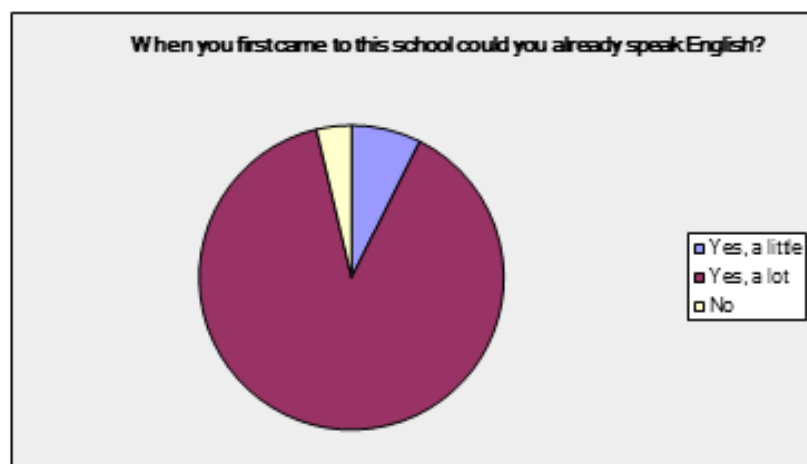
Coventry Primary School

In November 2012, 34 pupils attending Coventry Primary School completed a survey on their language learning experience in Key Stage 1. This report shows the results of the survey for the 27 pupils¹ who had attended the school in Key Stage 1. The pupils were all in Year 5 at the time of completing the survey.

The results of the survey are set out below.

Background information

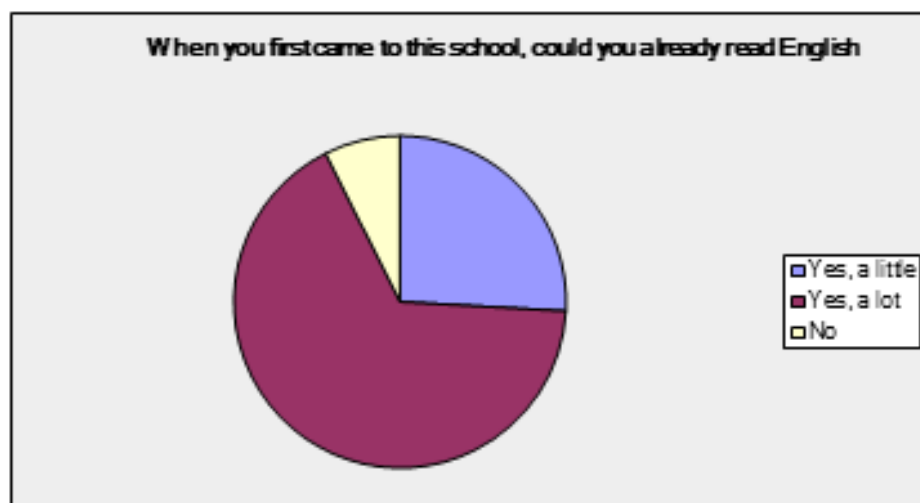
When you first came to this school could you already speak English?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, a little	7.4%	2
Yes, a lot	88.9%	24
No	3.7%	1



¹ nb slight anomalies occur in the counts in the report due to the fact that not all children completed all questions on the survey

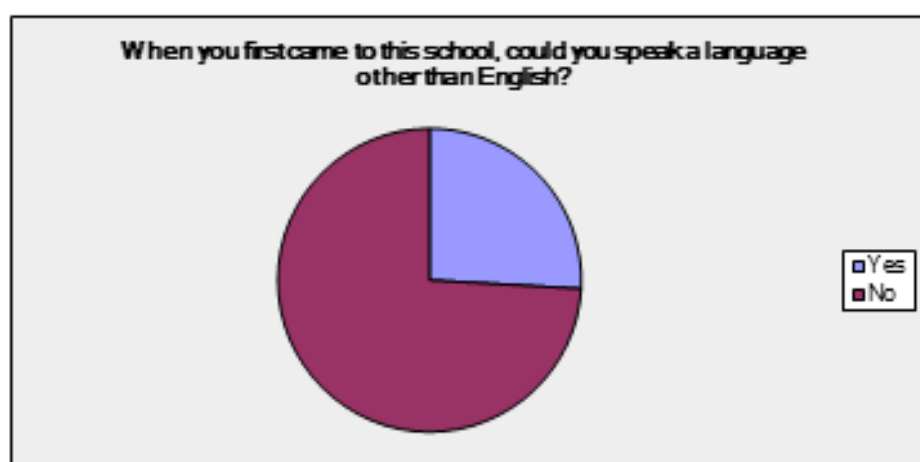
Primary bilingual is a research project run by Colin Isham. It aims to link primary practitioners with research on bilingualism and home language learning. If you would like to find out more, visit www.primarybilingual.com or e-mail Colin at comment@primarybilingual.com.

When you first came to this school, could you already read English		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, a little	25.9%	7
Yes, a lot	66.7%	18
No	7.4%	2



3a/ When you first came to this school, could you speak a language other than English?

When you first came to this school, could you speak a language other than English?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	25.9%	7
No	74.1%	20



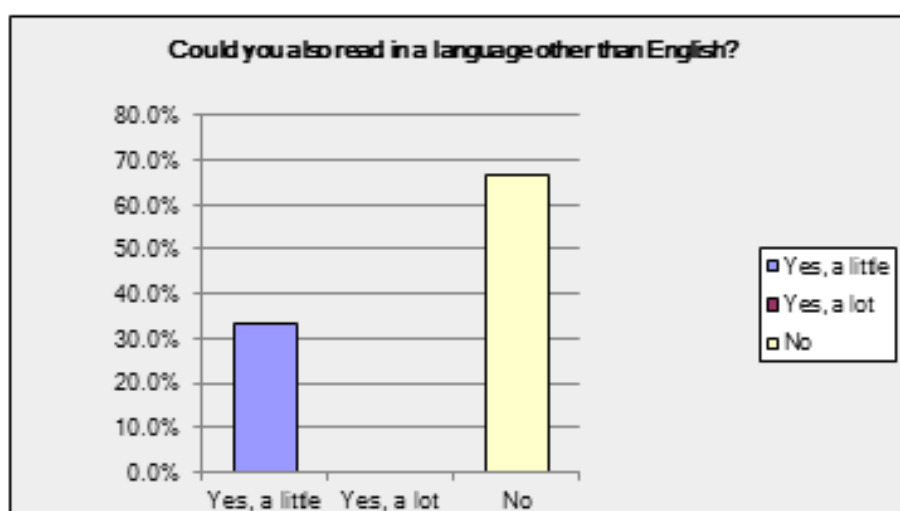
3b/ Which other language(s) could you speak when you came to this school?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Albanian		1
French		1
Jamaican		1
Lingala		1
Portuguese		1
Shona		1
Swahili		1

4a/ Could you also read in a language other than English?

Could you also read in a language other than English?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, a little	33.3%	2
Yes, a lot	0.0%	0
No	66.7%	4



Interpreting the outcomes

The pupils completed a survey consisting of a series of teacher statements related to supporting home language development and bilingualism. The statements are based on themes emerging from research which records teacher attitudes to bilingualism.

Pupils were asked to think back to their Key Stage 1 teachers and indicate how sure they were their teachers would have expressed those opinions: *'I'm sure my KS1 teachers would have said ... / I think my KS1 teachers would have said... / I think my KS1 teachers would not have said.../ I am sure my KS1 teachers would not have said...'*

Their answers were then scored according to how much each pupil believed their KS1 teachers would have expressed the opinions, and an aggregated score was calculated between 1 and 4:

- '1' indicating all pupils were sure their KS1 teachers would have said this, and
- '4' indicating all pupils were sure their KS1 teachers would not have said this.

The report begins with a presentation of the general findings (5a – 5d). The responses are weighted according to what research evidence suggests supports bilingual development. The graphs therefore show how much pupils believed their KS1 teachers were favourable towards promoting home language development and bilingualism (5a & 5b).

Chart 5c represents the pupils' own responses to how favourable they were towards promoting home language development and bilingualism.

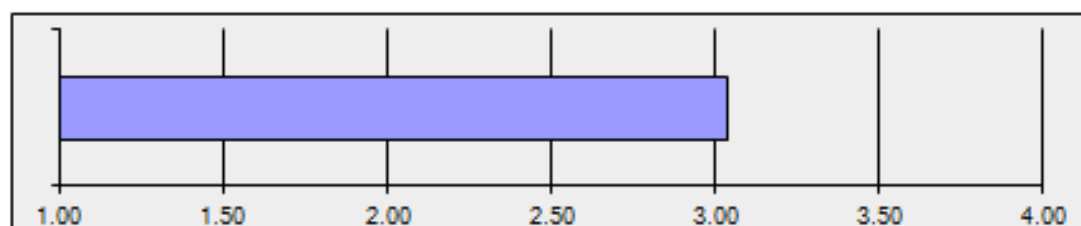
Chart 5d represents the average outcomes of teachers' direct responses to the items on the survey and reflects how favourable they were towards promoting home language development and bilingualism.

Charts 6 – 13 represent the responses to each individual statement.

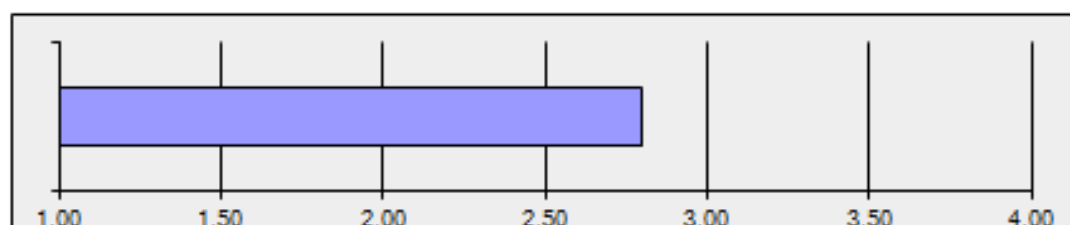
The results are divided between bilingual and monolingual pupils to show differences in perception for the two groups. However, it is necessary to bear in mind, the smaller the number of pupils in each group, the less reliable the outcome, because outliers have a bigger influence on the aggregate score.

The outcomes of the survey provide the school with a 'barometer' of the messages teachers emit in relation to home language development. The information is historic (pupils are relating their experiences from 3-5 years ago) and subject to the usual reliability issues that can occur through surveys. However, the data do provide a good starting point for discussing this area of practice with teachers, parents, school leaders, governors and pupils. They will help stimulate thinking on where the school would like to be in supporting the language development of its pupils.

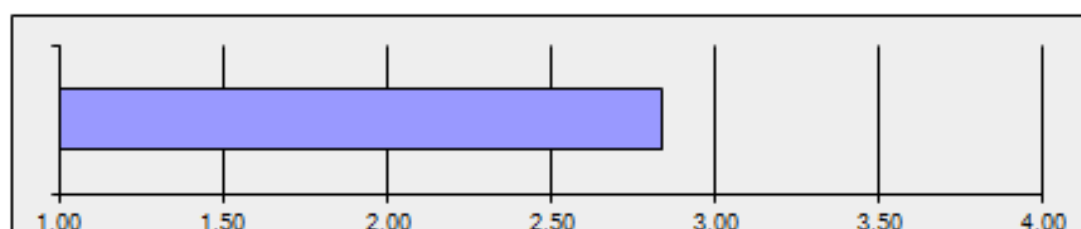
5a/ The extent to which **KS1 teachers** promoted home language development according to **bilingual children** (6 responses)



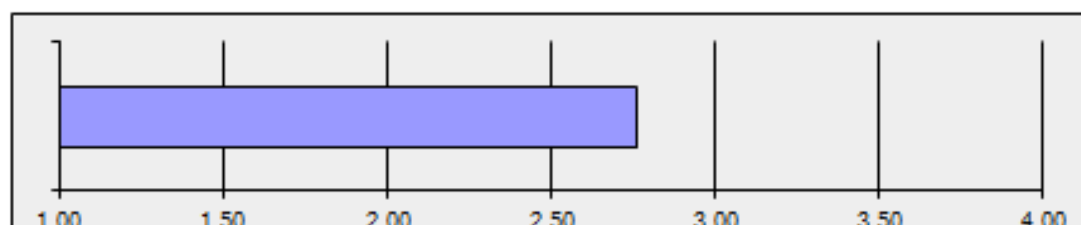
5b/ The extent to which **KS1 teachers** promoted home language development according to **monolingual children** (19 responses)



5c/ The extent to which **pupils in the survey** think it is important to promote home language development (25 responses)

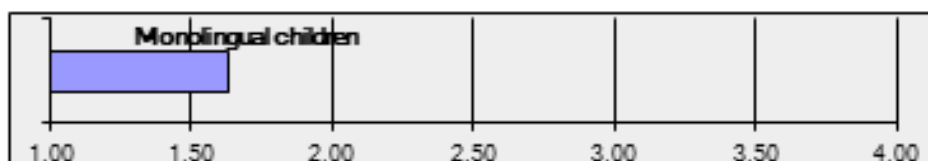


5d/ The extent to which **teachers in the survey** think it is important to promote home language development (10 responses)

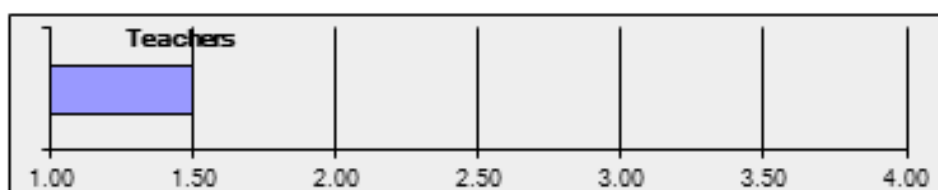


6/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this

'it's best to speak English at home as much as you can, and not your home language'

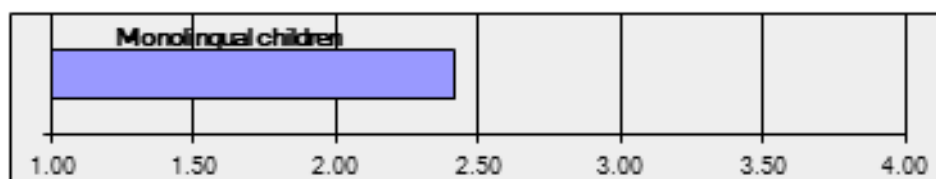
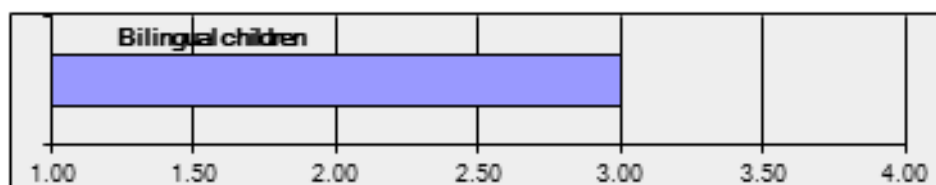


'I tell my bilingual pupils it's best to speak English at home as much as they can, and not their home language'

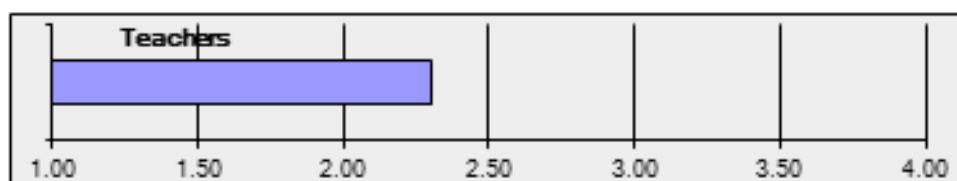


7/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this

'You should be reading books in your home language as well as English'

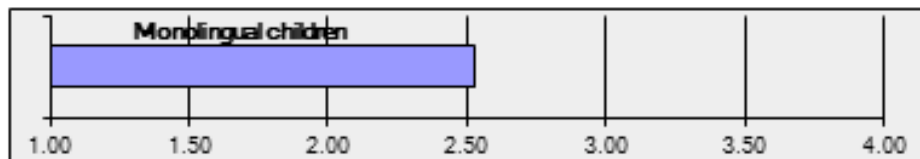
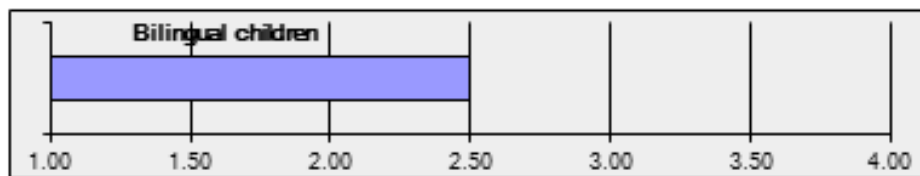


'I tell my pupils they should be reading books in their home language as well as in English'

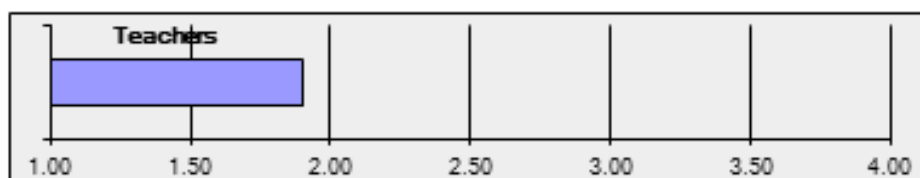


8/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this

'Speak English in class, it's rude to speak your home language when others don't understand'

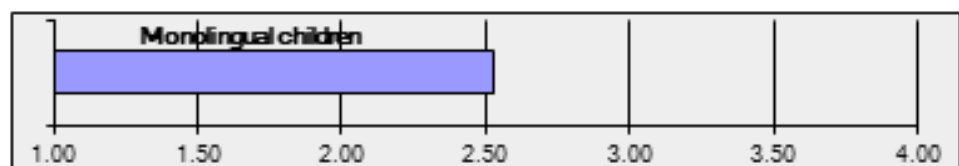
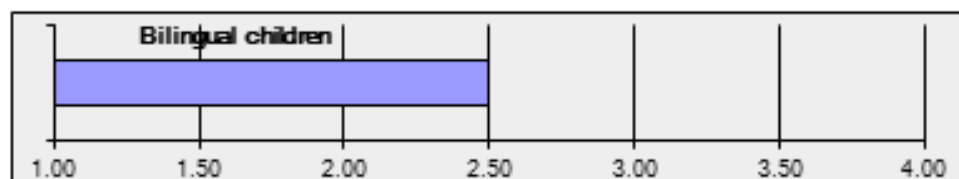


'I tell my pupils to speak English in class as it's rude to speak their home language when others don't understand'

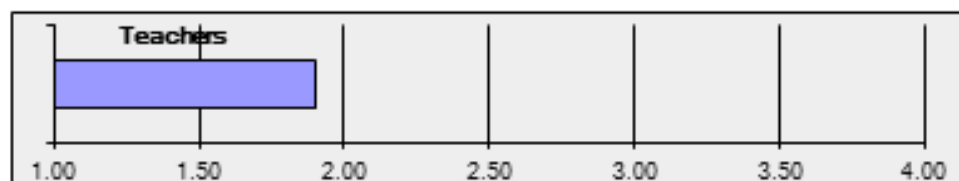


8/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this

'Speak English in class, it's rude to speak your home language when others don't understand'

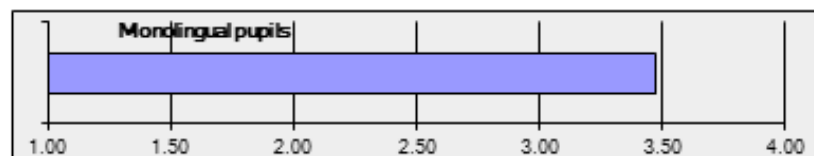
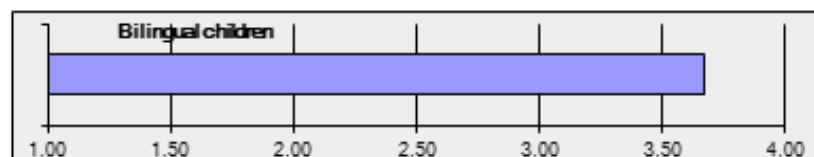


'I tell my pupils to speak English in class as it's rude to speak their home language when others don't understand'

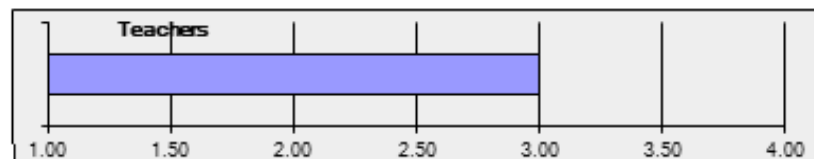


10/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this:

'Our school is very good at supporting children who speak languages other than English'

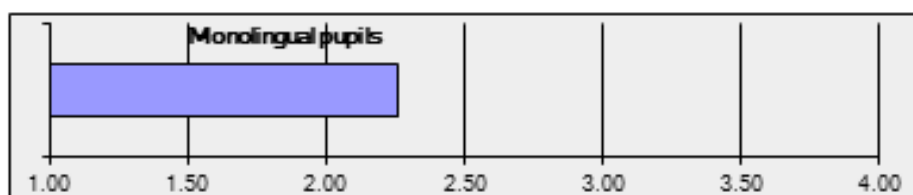
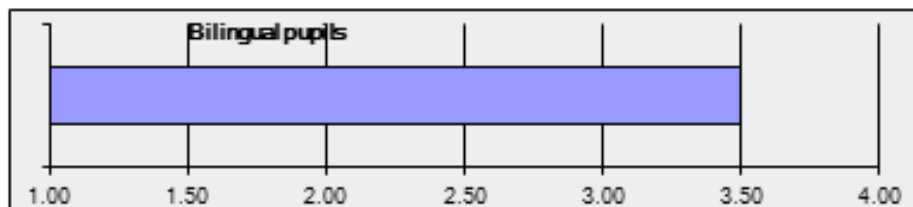


'Our school is very good at supporting children who speak languages other than English'

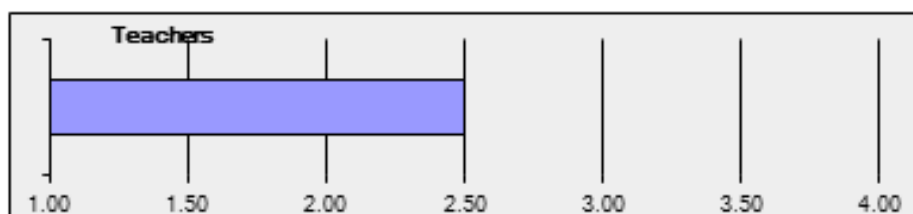


11/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this:

'Speak in your home language when you need to, it helps'

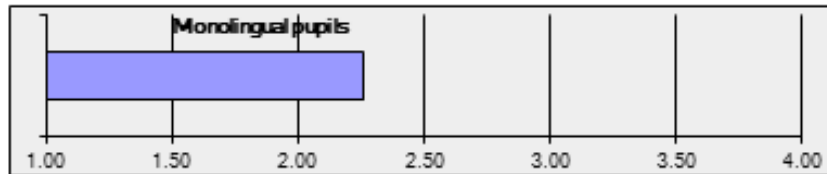
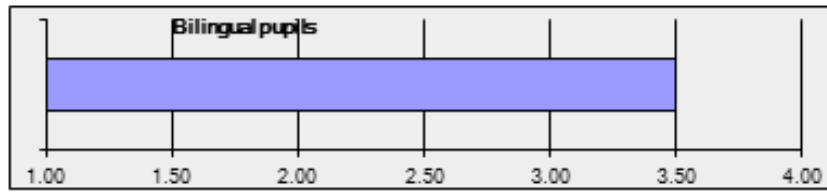


'I encourage children to use their home language when they need to, as it helps'

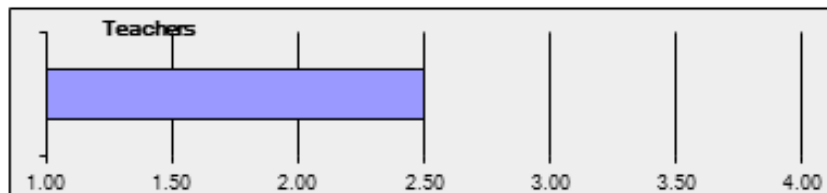


11/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this:

'Speak in your home language when you need to, it helps'

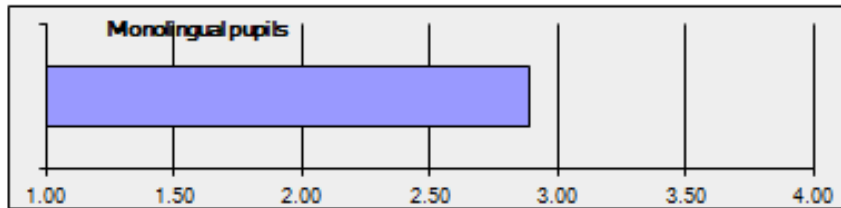
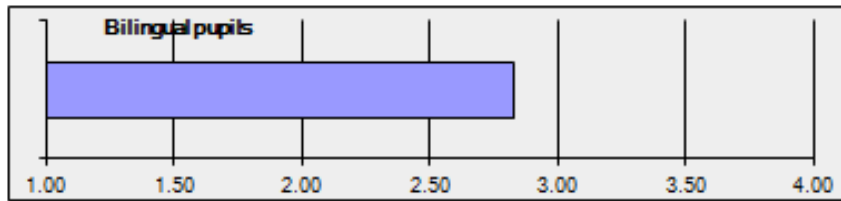


'I encourage children to use their home language when they need to, as it helps'

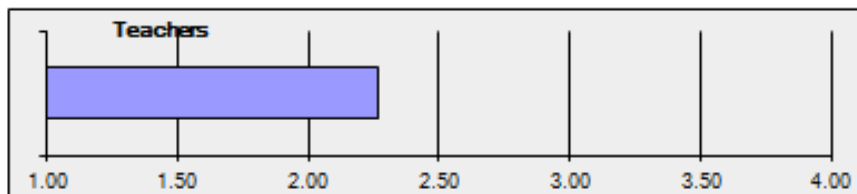


12/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this:

'Let's do an activity using different languages children in the class speak'

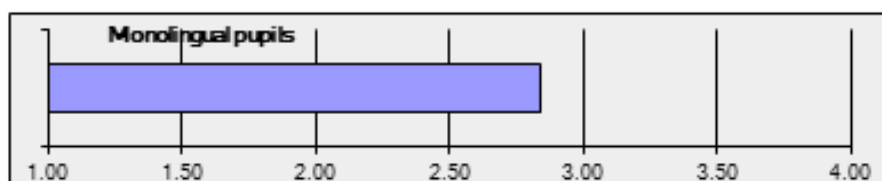
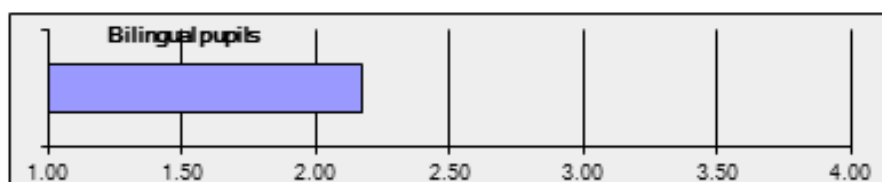


'I design activities which focus on the different languages children in the class speak'

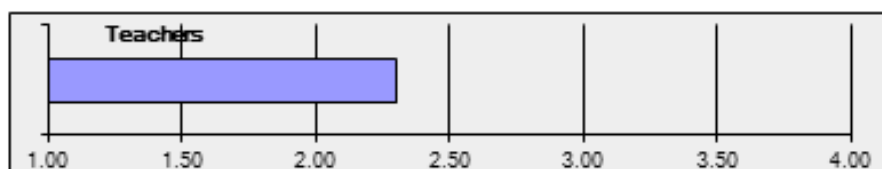


13/ I think my KS1 teachers would have said this:

'You need specialist teachers with you when you teach children with languages other than English.'



'You need specialist teachers to teach children with languages other than English'



Some of the things pupils said in the focus group

When I was little like three years old I used to speak French really, really well but I've forgotten now

When you understand reading in your language more than English then maybe your language will help you with English

I remember when teachers asked you what language you were speaking and then they asked you to speak a little for them but most people got embarrassed

I think that people that have heard other people speak other languages might want to know a bit themselves but never get the chance to ask someone to teach them ... they could do a lesson once a week where people that speak a different language could come up and teach us some words in it

I think my teacher finds it quite fun teaching us languages because by the way we learn it we have a lot of fun learning different languages

Questions for the school based on themes arising from the pupil focus group

1/ Are all teachers aware of the full range of languages their pupils speak? In what ways do they recognise these as an asset to be celebrated and developed, and are there ways of extending this activity?

2/ Often pupils develop languages other than English with active support from parents and community. Does the school have any role in complementing this, or even taking a lead where pupils do not enjoy such parental support?

3/ Some teachers obviously engage pupils well in language learning with engaging and fun activities. Can the school identify where good practice is occurring and capitalise on it, in particular as it develops its languages offer in KS2?

Appendix K – Information for schools leaflet

Primary Bilingual

Primary Bilingual Project – information for schools

What is the research about?

For schools

- Review current practice and climate with regard to language development of EAL/bilingual learners
- Familiarity with NALDIC descriptors for English language progression and effective practices
- Develop understanding of nature of bilingualism and implications for practice

For research

- Understand current practice and attitudes of teachers with regard to language development of bilingual learners
- Assess this in the light of evidence about language and cognitive development of bilingual learners

What do you get?

- A school report showing the outcomes of the survey
- Support in reviewing your support for EAL learners, and opportunity to consider your approach to encouraging foreign language learning in your school
- Participating children are entered for a prize draw - one child in each participating class will receive a £10 Amazon voucher.

What does it involve?

Pupil voice

- Pupils are Year 5 and/or Year 6, and in a class with a minimum of 5 EAL/bilingual children
- All pupils in the selected year group(s) complete an online questionnaire (a paper version is also available), this will take no more than 30 minutes, including set up.
- A sample of six pupils from the group (3x bilingual and 3x monolingual) participate in a focus group (half hour) a minimum of two hours after completion of the survey (the results of the survey are a stimulus for discussion, and so need to be processed). The focus group is recorded, either audio or video (video is preferable because it enables facial and body language to be analysed, but this is at the discretion of the head teacher)

Teacher voice

- Teachers are invited to complete a paper questionnaire – this is quick and easy to complete and parallels the questions pupils are asked (an online version is also possible). The teacher questionnaire should take no more than 10 minutes to complete.
- A teacher focus group to discuss issues emerging from the surveys and introduction to evidence on bilingualism, if the issue is of interest to members of staff/SLT. The focus group is for a maximum of six members of staff and lasts 30 minutes. It is recorded (video is preferable because it enables facial and body language to be analysed, but audio recording may be chosen instead).

Practitioner enquiry

- should any teacher or teaching assistant in the school wish to develop practice in relation to EAL/bilingualism, the researcher (Colin Isham) can provide coaching and specialist input to carry out enquiry based CPD, either following an EAL or bilingualism strand. Meetings between the researcher and staff will be recorded to inform the research.
- The project is perfect for practitioners wishing to undertake a mini research cycle, develop research skills.
- For further information, please contact Colin.

Ethics

Confidentiality - Only the researcher will have access to the original audio/video recordings. All data will be anonymised and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998). Data sources will be coded – it will not be possible for third parties to identify data as emanating from a named pupil or teacher. Participating teachers may have access to their data at any time during or after the research.

Informed consent - Participants will be informed of the aims of the project, its origins and how the data will be used and disseminated. Information is available on the Primary Bilingual website: www.primarybilingual.com.

Right to withdraw - Participating teachers may withdraw from the project at any time. While it would be helpful for teachers to give a reason for withdrawing, it is at their discretion to do so.

The researcher

The researcher is Colin Isham. The primary bilingual project forms a part of his PhD research. Colin is an experienced teacher and researcher. He is Associate Principal Researcher for the Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education (CUREE), where he frequently supports teachers conduct research, and access evidence to inform practice. Colin is vice-chair of governors at Pinfold St Primary School, Darlaston.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

website: www.primarybilingual.com

Appendix L – Studies included in the initial thematic analysis

ABBAS, T. (2002) Teacher perceptions of South Asians in Birmingham schools and colleges. *Oxford Review of Education*, 28, 447-471.

BARNARD, C. & BURGESS, J. (2000) Secondary INSET in the mainstream education of bilingual pupils (England). British Educational Research Association Conference. Cardiff University.

CABLE, C., EYRES, I. & COLLINS, J. (2004) Bilingualism and inclusion: more than just rhetoric? British Educational research Association Annual Conference. University of Manchester.

CONNORS, B. (2003) Constraints on effective interaction when English is an additional language. British Education Research Association. Herriot-Watt University, Edinburgh.

CONTEH, J. (2011) 'Safe spaces'? Sites of bilingualism for young learners in home, school and community. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 14, 347-360.

GHUMAN, P. (2003) *Double loyalties: South Asian adolescents in the West*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press.

KENNER, C. & RUBY, M. (2012) Co-constructing bilingual learning: an equal exchange of strategies between complementary and mainstream teachers. *Language and Education*.

SMYTH, G. (2000) I feel this challenge and I don't have the background: Teaching bilingual pupils in Scottish primary schools. European Conference on Educational Research. Edinburgh.

STRAND, S., DE COULON, A., MESCHI, E., VORHAUS, J., FRUMKIN, L., IVINS, C., SMALL, L., SOOD, A., GERVAIS, M.-C. & REHMAN, H. (2010) Drivers and challenges in raising the achievement of pupils from Bangladeshi, Somali and Turkish backgrounds. London, DCSF.

Appendix M – Coding Frame from initial thematic analysis

Theme 1: Primacy of English

Brief description: Reference to English language as the primary language skill children should focus on, often with the implication that home languages lack value or are a handicap to the learning of English

Full definition: ability in English is a prerequisite for academic performance, English is referred to as *the* language, proficiency in English is equated with a child's language proficiency, to the exclusion of other languages they may speak. Teachers insist on the use of English, and refer to too much time being spent speaking home languages and not enough using English, and are unable or decline to use the names of bilingual children's home languages.

Instances of use:

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases (evaluative terms in bold)
Ability in English as prerequisite for academic performance	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>I mean in the later stages it gets better, because the children have been there for a whole year. So they are at the stage where they do understand (Cable)</p> <p>They've been in the country long enough to acquire all the language and they're fine and they can practise at home. (Strand)</p> <p>His language I think if he spoke only English would be much better, he'd be much more forthcoming (Smyth)</p> <p>he's clever enough to do it, so he's a bright child and the language perhaps is hindering him in some way (Smyth)</p> <p>I think it would still be better for W if he could actually be in a group at the support unit, going to see once or twice a week even where he was meeting other children who are having the same problems (Smyth)</p>	<p>gets better, understand, more forthcoming, hinder, fine, have problems</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases (evaluative terms in bold)
	<p><i>survey free text</i></p> <p>Google translate very useful with non-speakers Other more confident children to translate Initially add comments in both English and home language until child is more capable (WY1)</p> <p>I generally don't expect a student to contribute to whole-class discussions etc until they want to (L2)</p>	<p>more capable</p> <p>don't expect [a contribution until pupil is ready]</p>
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>and actually in key stage 2 they make much better progress because in key stage 1 they are acquiring the language skills the speaking the listening the actually language skills and understanding and once they've got that you know they do make better progress (WM1)</p> <p>It's better for EAL children to speak English at home rather than their home language. It would be more beneficial for them (WY2)</p> <p>I don't speak Polish, so to use competent children, bilingual children to help to translate (WY2)</p>	<p>(once they've got that [English skills] they do make) better progress</p> <p>[speaking English at home] would be more beneficial</p> <p>competent children [ie children who speak English well]</p>
English as <i>the</i> language	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>They've been in the country long enough to acquire all the language and they're fine and they can practice at home (Strand)</p> <p>if they don't feel very confident in the language they tend to stay together (Strand)</p> <p>they won't get any support with language at home at all (Strand)</p> <p>because you've seen that when he's confident and he knows what he's about he's a different child and when he doesn't he just shies away and I think that's the language (Smyth)</p> <p>he's clever enough to do it, so he's a bright child and the language perhaps is hindering him in some way (Smyth)</p>	<p>the language</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases (evaluative terms in bold)
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>so you know the language once they've got that language that's it then (WM1)</p> <p>it's so unfair if they sit and they can't contribute to the lesson because they haven't got the language (WY1)</p> <p>I don't want them to all sit together and discuss everything in Polish because I don't think it's good for the language (WY1)</p>	
language ability = English language ability	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>they'll [Somali pupils] mainly speak Somali or Dutch and because their parents are limited linguistically (Strand)</p> <p>there's often a very limited vocabulary academically, generally and culturally (Strand)</p> <p>his language has definitely improved (Smyth)</p>	limited linguistically, limited vocabulary, his/her/their language
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>I paired first language speakers with EAL learners to support/teach/correct grammar (L2)</p>	support/teach/ correct grammar

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases (evaluative terms in bold)
	<p>group discussion</p> <p>I've worked with two brothers one's in Year 4 the other was in Year 2 and the one in Year 4 is very shy and reserved and his communication he's got it all there but his communication skills are not very good whereas with the younger one who is in Year 2 even though his ability isn't you know the same as his brother's his communication skills are better it's because he's speaking more with his friends (WM1)</p> <p>Literacy I think it is yeah basically you can actually see how they are developing their language skills are developing (WM1)</p> <p>they are acquiring the language skills the speaking the listening the actually language skills and understanding and once they've got that you know ... (WM1)</p> <p>I've got some children in reception whose language development is quite slow (WM2)</p>	<p>his/her/their communication skills</p> <p>language development</p>
Quantifying use of languages	<p>literature</p> <p>she uses Punjabi all the time (Smyth)</p> <p>we know they will not either hear or speak a word of English (Connors)</p>	<p>[home language] all the time</p> <p>not a word of English</p>
	<p>group discussion</p> <p>they also need to add more English into their you know cause they only spend six hours at school (WM1)</p> <p>Because when they come they speak more home language and very little English. And so it's just little odd ends you know of words they're using in in communication whereas when they've been here for a certain amount of time and that confidence has developed it's more erm they don't use the home language and they're using more English (WM1)</p> <p>I don't want them to all sit together and discuss everything in Polish (WY1)</p> <p>There are times when it is an advantage to speak Polish and times when it isn't (WY1)</p> <p>I don't think it's always appropriate to speak Polish (WY1)</p>	<p>Only [time span]</p> <p>Little / little odds and ends of / more English</p> <p>discuss everything in [home language]</p> <p>times when it is not an advantage/appropriate to speak [home language]</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases (evaluative terms in bold)
Insistence on English use	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>I suggested that perhaps he spoke a lot more English in the house (Smyth)</p> <p>he would repeat it in Urdu which I said was fine you know as long as he gets the English input (Smyth)</p> <p>I can see the desirability of them being able to communicate with all members of their family but as I say there are various kinds of priorities (Connors)</p>	<p>more English, the English input, priorities</p>
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>home is very important (support with bits of homework) - discourage too much Polish TV for children and encourage a regular teatime slot of English (WY1)</p> <p>early years foundation stage: - pupils with basic knowledge of English > try to speak English all the time - pupils with no English > try to speak English, but translation into their home language to make sure they do understand KS1, KS2 - speak English all the time, use home language only if needed (WY1)</p> <p>Seat similar EAL children separately (so they do not talk to each other in their native language) (PGCE)</p> <p>I gave children who spoke Panjabi in my class a chance to answer register/sing songs in their own language but to try and only use English with whole class (PGCE)</p> <p>Many of these children have parents who speak little or poor English. I think that if young children are able to pick up another language easily, school should provide ample opportunities to practice their English (WM4)</p>	<p>discourage [home language use]</p> <p>encourage [English use]</p> <p>try to speak English</p> <p>[home language use] only if needed</p> <p>[prevent home language use]</p> <p>only use English</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases (evaluative terms in bold)
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>I would say that we encourage EAL children to use more English at home but not sort of completely disregard er their home language so they still need to use their home language but they also need to add more English (WM1)</p> <p>so just before Christmas I said to the little one I said ooh your you know you speak really beautiful English I said if over the holidays you can play some games and things with your brother encourage him to speak a bit more English and since he's come back even the class teacher's noticed the difference so I've given him a bit of an incentive I've said ooh 10 house points each they both got so that you know (WM1)</p> <p>if they're clarifying understanding and talking between them then that's an ideal opportunity to get things right and then to try and put it into English and to be supported in putting it into English (WM1)</p> <p>I encourage them to speak English but then obviously just to make sure they do understand it's like I speak in Polish (WY1)</p>	<p>use/add more English</p>
<p>Failure to name languages other than English</p>	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>when they're together speak whatever the dialect, I've actually been told, I think, is it Mandarin? (Smyth)</p> <p>who speak together in their own language (Smyth)</p>	<p>whatever [the dialect, language], his/her/their own language</p>

Theme 2: Home language use and learning as beneficial

Brief description: Reference to the benefits of learning home language or expression of regret that opportunities have been missed to do so

Full definition: teachers acknowledge the benefits of using/learning the home language, they express willingness to support home language learning and use, they find it a matter of regret if bilingual children lose opportunities to use and learn their home language. They highlight the negative impacts of children not being able to learn/use their home language

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Support for learning/using home language	<p>literature</p> <p>I'm fully behind it, anything we can gather about how they're learning in language one should help inform their learning in language two (Kenner)</p> <p>I have recently had a child from Jamaica who speaks patois. Allowing her the freedom to use that in the classroom and using Jamaican authors and poets in the curriculum has enabled her to access English with greater confidence (Conteh)</p> <p>We'll sometimes not have the time for those stage 3 kids, so sometimes they can get slightly ignored and really we need to start looking at how we can move those more advanced learners to move forward (Strand)</p>	Anything we can..., allowing the freedom to use, using [the language & related phenomena], encourage [to use home language], move forward

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p>survey</p> <p>as we are infants we use visuals as part of good practice ... but would encourage English and home language words + visuals together - we buddy children up .. if language is common (EAL)</p> <p>use bilingual books ... this isn't always possible ... some languages hard to find keystage 1 books in Lithuanian and English for example (EAL)</p> <p>We have times at school when KS1 + KS2 mix to read books to each other. Sometimes the more able will read other times the less able. We encourage the EAL pupils to read both dual language books or if they are able and want to read a story to another child in their home language. Also when topics are discussed we encourage EAL pupils to teach us what things/items etc are called in their home language (EAL)</p> <p>We try to use as much of their home language as we can. We use pupils knowledge to teach their peers other languages. (WM3)</p> <p>I encourage parents to read to them [in home language] all teachers should be able to support children with EAL (L3)</p> <p>I plan activities to encourage children to share their own language but I do discourage chatter in the classroom but encourage home language during playtimes (L2)</p> <p>I have not spent time in a school with a high proportion of EAL. However, I would encourage children to share their first language with the class to build relationships (PGCE)</p>	<p>Use/read bilingual/dual language books</p> <p>Parent involvement</p> <p>use home language</p> <p>use pupils' knowledge [of community languages]</p> <p>teach/share [home] language</p>
	<p>group discussion</p> <p>that came out of the training, not to encourage the children to speak um a bad model of language at home which may be English and to speak a good model of their own (WM2)</p> <p>we do say to them that in reception that they can talk in their own language that we encourage them to play in their own language because it's developing their imagination which is skills that they need to develop not just you know to help their language (WM2)</p> <p>I think it's important they have the opportunity to speak their own language (WY1)</p> <p>they might even learn a song (WY1)</p>	<p>Important to have the opportunity to speak [home language]</p> <p>learn a song</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Benefits of using/learning home language	<p>literature</p> <p>If children have access to two languages they have a bigger range of vocabulary to draw on and they might have better words in one to express thoughts, feelings and emotions that is really important for developing personal and social skills. (Conteh)</p> <p>Allowing her the freedom to use that in the classroom and using Jamaican authors and poets in the curriculum has enabled her to access English with greater confidence and has raised her status in the eyes of other pupils . . . she is not looked upon as someone who needs help but who has an additional ability (Conteh)</p> <p>There is an enormous inertia in teaching because we've just had so much to deal with, and people just say "Oh, just another initiative" and it's very difficult to get them to realise the value of it (Barnard and Burgess)</p> <p>Getting the children to understand and to speak in any language is important, therefore some knowledge of first language is essential for an early years teacher (Conteh)</p>	<p>larger vocabulary</p> <p>better express</p> <p>personal skills</p> <p>social skills</p> <p>confidence</p> <p>raised status</p> <p>additional ability</p> <p>value</p> <p>any language is important</p>
	<p>survey</p> <p>I find that the home language is especially useful at helping children achieve in maths - if they cannot count in English they can often do it in their home language etc (PGCE)</p> <p>school should provide ample opportunities to practise their English, while still helping children to realise that speaking two or more languages is a skill to be valued (WM4)</p>	<p>[home language is] useful</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p>group discussion</p> <p>we do say to them that in reception that they can talk in their own language that we encourage them to play in their own language because it's developing their imagination which is skills that they need to develop not just you know to help their language (WM2)</p> <p>I think it's important for them in their kind of macro structure to keep their culture alive and to be able to continue to talk their language (WM2)</p> <p>it's important for children to actually develop some of their social skills and their imagination in their first language (WM2)</p> <p>well encouraging them to read in both languages can only benefit them can't it cause reading you know benefits them doesn't it the more they read ... (WY2)</p> <p>the Polish children go to a Polish school on a Saturday so that helps them doesn't it (WY2)</p> <p>sometimes there are certain activities you want to know their opinions their thoughts so I think it's so restricted if they haven't got English (WY1)</p> <p>if they're clarifying understanding and talking between them then that's an ideal opportunity to get things right (WM1)</p> <p>there are two or three Slovakian children who really do use their home language to benefit them, you know, and to support each other in their home language (WM1)</p>	<p>develop imagination</p> <p>keep culture alive</p> <p>develop social skills</p> <p>reading [in the home language] benefits [pupils]</p> <p>[attending complementary schools] helps</p> <p>[speaking the home language means bilingual children can contribute] their thoughts and opinions</p> <p>clarify understanding</p> <p>support</p>
Deprivation of opportunities to learn/use home language	<p>literature</p> <p>I mean at home there isn't the community of Chinese. That is the biggest problem. He has got no knowledge and no background in Cantonese as far as reading it or writing it. (Smyth)</p> <p>He doesn't go to Chinese school or anything? (Smyth)</p> <p>that is where you feel that children like W maybe do lose out (Smyth)</p> <p>I taught my children English, and that's all they know now, so they are kind of isolated (Cable)</p>	<p>no knowledge, no background, lose out, does not attend [complementary school], that's all</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Negative impacts of not being able to use/learn home language	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>I taught my children English, and that's all they know now, so they are kind of isolated – And my Mum and Dad last year, and they couldn't talk to each other, they just smile, and they nod yes or no, - they understand every word of it, but they won't speak it. So I know what it feels like. (Cable)</p> <p>A bilingual child in a predominantly English monolingual class may find it hard, not necessarily in developing English, he may feel isolated in other ways and become withdrawn and introverted. (Conteh)</p>	Isolated, introverted, withdrawn, can't [talk],
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>if you're saying don't speak in your home language you can't speak in that language you're actually not keeping up communication and if they get into that habit whatever language you're trying to promote they won't (WM2)</p>	won't keep up communication

Theme 3: Locating responsibility away

Brief description: Reference to others' responsibility for bilingual children's learning and use of the home language, and undue pressure placed on individual teachers

Full definition: Teachers highlight the lack of support they receive, imply through impersonal statements that unnamed others are not providing support they should. Teachers locate responsibility away from the school by claiming the school and they are doing all they can. Home and parents are named specifically as being responsible for providing support, but often this is lacking. Teachers highlight failures on the part of parents, focussing on their limited skills in English. Teachers identify child's innate ability as responsible for (lack of) progress, and may decline responsibility themselves but not apportion elsewhere.

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Lack of support / resources for teacher/school	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>I was in Primary 1 when M., R's big sister, and R. both started school and you are virtually handed a child whose English was virtually school English and that still is the case (Smyth)</p> <p>there wasn't any way of getting anybody who could speak to them in any language that she could understand... (Connors)</p> <p>I think it would still be better for W if he could actually be in a group at the support unit, going to see once or twice a week even where he was meeting other children who are having the same problems because he would realise it is not just him ... I think J (W's younger brother) still goes but they seem to have this policy of well you know W's now Primary 4 and he can cope so he doesn't go any more (Smyth)</p>	<p>you are handed a child, no way of getting [support]'</p> <p>[they have a] policy</p>
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>Being in a year 6 classroom a new child could speak no English at all. this child would have benefited in going for phonics lessons in KS1 daily, however the school disagreed with this. I attempted to involve him as much as possible in all activities but struggled as I was given no advice on how to handle this situation (PGCE)</p> <p>[Helping children learn their home language would just be too much work] It wouldn't be if I knew the language or had support (WM4)</p>	<p>given no advice</p> <p>if I knew the language</p> <p>if I had support</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p>group discussion</p> <p>We've got Polish books as well but I'm thinking as well again a bit less well known like again Shona or Lingala, do they have access to books in the home language how easy are they to come by? (WY2)</p> <p>That would be an advantage if it was in a language like Punjabi if they were going to a madrasa that would again but I keep coming back to my African language I know African languages there's just there isn't really the scope for it there (WY2)</p>	<p>Do [pupils] have access to (books in the home language)?</p> <p>How easy are [bilingual resources] to come by?</p> <p>There isn't the scope</p>
School doing all it can	<p>literature</p> <p>in the context of the amount of effort that is going into reading and literacy in primary school it would suggest that it ought to be improving but it is still rocking along the bottom (Abbas)</p> <p>All our efforts using additional help have little impact (Connors)</p>	[quantify] effort
	<p>group discussion</p> <p>So yeah we agree that we think teachers should design activities and that schools should do what they can we think we're doing our best (WY2)</p>	we're doing our best

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Lack of / unreliable support at home	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>Of course, a lot depends on their home background. If a family is English-speaking it is all right (Ghuman)</p> <p>When they go home, they'll [Somali pupils] mainly speak Somali or Dutch and because their parents are limited linguistically they won't get any support with language at home at all (Strand)</p> <p>We cannot give them equal access to the curriculum if we get no help from home - and that means learning our language (Connors)</p> <p>On the plus side, the children of the Asian families who make the effort to learn English do far better at school (Connors)</p> <p>The children are with us for six hours a day, then many go home where we know they will not either hear or speak a word of English. (Connors)</p>	<p>no support [at home]</p> <p>depends on home background, [families] make the effort</p> <p>not a word of English [at home]</p>
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>The continuation of languages at home would support learning of English due to grammatical etc consistencies - however, parents need to be able to support the promotion of English (PGCE)</p>	<p>parents need to support English</p>
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>you don't always know what they're doing at home and they might write down things that they've just got their parents to fill in or you just don't know or if they did the homework you don't know how much help they've got on it so you whereas in school we can see exactly what they're doing so yeah it's tricky (L1)</p>	<p>You don't know [what is happening at home]</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Locating the issue with parents and community	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>In the case of Turkish and Kurdish pupils, there was the view that this group had a ‘monocultural’ existence outside of school due to a limited integration (Strand)</p> <p>If the mothers fail to grasp what we are saying about their children, how can we help them (Connors)</p> <p>their parents are limited linguistically (Strand)</p> <p>Some parents do not speak any English. The children translate for the parents. Some parents come with their other son or daughter who does all the translating (Connors)</p>	<p>Limited integration, no English at home, [parent] fails to [understand] (parents) do not speak English (parents are) limited linguistically</p>
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>there are attendance issues relating to Polish community (WY1)</p> <p>Many of these children have parents who speak little or poor English (WM4)</p>	<p>issues</p>
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>a lot of our families are on very low incomes so I wouldn’t imagine that they’d have lots of books in their own language (WY2)</p>	<p>(families are on) low incomes</p>
Locating the issue with the child	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>I think it depends on how clever the child is and how quickly they can pick up (Smyth)</p>	<p>It depends on the child</p>
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>unless talking specifically about a language children do not seem inclined to use it (WM3)</p> <p>upper juniors find it more difficult to integrate and resources, ie TA are having to be used to support those children instead of supporting the whole class (WM1)</p> <p>I find children with EAL very interesting but daunting. The children I taught with EAL were fluent in English - I'm not sure how I'd approach a child who came to school with no English. I find parents with no English a bigger problem than the children (PGCE)A</p>	<p>Children do not seem inclined to use [home language] [pupils] find it difficult to integrate [Children are] daunting, a problem</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>it's much more depend on the child as well you know because if the bright child it doesn't matter about that much languages they just pick up here and there my own children I use mother tongue at home but they are quite bright see so I didn't have no problem at all with the language barrier you know cause they picked up . but you know as I said it all depend on the child if the child's got learning difficulty so I think it's more English here and there also obviously the mother tongue on the top you know for child to get the understand you know what mum or teacher is saying you know (WM1)</p> <p>I suppose that those that normally read Russian books or stuff they do that anyway so unless a - in terms of you don't want to force children if they don't want to read in their own language there's that thing of oh you have to read and if they don't want to then it's sort of (L1)</p> <p>well that's the other little question I'd have on my mind some will be but are all of them written languages and it's just you sometimes get I think when they can speak a language but they can't read a language that would mess it up (WY2)</p>	<p>[if the child is] bright</p> <p>If [the child] doesn't want to [engage with the home language]</p> <p>[bilingual children] can't (read a language)</p>
Declining to locate responsibility	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>Not that I'm, I am not criticizing the parents don't get me wrong but you know there is this he's falling between the two and not quite sure where he belongs (Smyth)</p>	Not criticising, falling between [school support and support at home]
Denial of issue	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>We don't have many [developing bilingual] students... So I don't think it would be seen as a particularly big issue really (Barnard and Burgess)</p>	Not an issue
Wider structural factors	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>It's part of the requirements as well to teach French and Spanish (WY1)</p> <p>That would be a question for [headteacher] I think (L1)</p> <p>They can't read a language [because not all languages are written] (WY2)</p>	<p>Requirements</p> <p>A question for [higher authority]</p> <p>Not all languages are written</p>

Theme 4: Accepting responsibility

Brief description: Reference to teachers responsibility for bilingual children's learning, making accommodations and use of language

Full definition: Teachers acknowledge their responsibility to learn more and develop their practice to improve learning for bilingual children. They stipulate what teachers should and should not be doing to achieve this.

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Acknowledging responsibility	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>I knew that ideally I should find out what strategies I need to use with him from special needs or....yes certainly from Special Needs....er.. but it was very much towards the end of term and in the first instance I don't think I took any particular measures. I just...allowed him to ...just to try to integrate but I was always conscious that 's not...that's not ideal (Connors)</p>	<p>Ideally, in an ideal situation (I) should (find out) that's not ideal</p>
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>I feel my teaching is not very accommodating as EAL isn't always highlighted ... this is food for thought! (WM2)</p> <p>I've never done this [allow students to use their home language in completing class work] but would happily try! - I don't talk to parents enough about their language - I don't embrace it enough in class - would be nice to have non-English texts in class libraries not just school libraries (L3)</p> <p>[I talk with parents to develop strategies on how we can help their children learn English and maintain their home language] I don't do this, but I would like to (WM4)</p>	<p>food for thought</p> <p>not [undertaking practice] enough</p> <p>It would be nice to (have non-English texts, to move to the next step)</p> <p>I would like to [undertake practice]</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p><i>group discussions</i></p> <p>if they have lower expectations of themselves and maybe they're not . or we're not pushing them enough (L1)</p> <p>it's certainly something that would be really, really interesting (L1)</p> <p>cause quite often we don't really know the basics in language and if we don't the children aren't going to are they so I just thought it would make them feel welcome because we have got things around where they're from around the school and it would be nice to maybe move to the next step and have some language (WM2)</p> <p>I wish we were better (WM2)</p> <p>when it comes to something like lingala or shona we don't have anything for them, we don't have anything no you can't really say we're very good can (WY2)</p> <p>I have a feeling that we should be doing that one, school ensures they are skilled in their home language, but I'm not sure that we do (WY2)</p> <p>teachers should design activities which mean children can learn each others' languages in the classroom and I know that we are very very busy and in an ideal situation it would be absolutely fantastic to do that (WY1)</p> <p>Shall we even, I don't know, once or two or three times a year, perhaps we could set some time aside to actually do that. We need to actually think about it (WY1)</p> <p>I saw that and though straight away we should I think it's a really good idea. (WY1)</p> <p>but practicalities, is it, how feasible really is it to do but does that mean we should think we can't do that so never mind, or should we actually think stop and think shall we even, I don't know once or two or three times a year perhaps we could set some time aside to actually do that we need to actually think about it (WY1)</p> <p>And you could really do that because I think in year 6 we have a reading journal that goes home and they often record the books they're taking home to school but you could easily ask bilingual children to add to that so we can see and I'd be really interested to see what they're reading at home (WY1)</p> <p>you just might have to research where is a good place to buy them (WY2)</p>	<p>we don't know [home languages]</p> <p>not very good</p> <p>wish we were better</p> <p>I'm not sure we do [undertake practice]</p> <p>we could [undertake practice]</p> <p>(you) can't say we are very good</p> <p>I'd be interested to (see)</p> <p>It would be interesting</p> <p>[teachers] might have to (research)</p> <p>That's as far as it got</p> <p>It's a good idea</p> <p>We need to think about it</p> <p>It's a bit random</p> <p>[criticising amount of effort that is made]</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p>Group discussions (continued)</p> <p>when you take English as an additional language children if they've been in the country less than twelve months you can apply I think it's for a hundred pound so you could use that towards purchasing books (WY2)</p> <p>we have done that but it's a bit random isn't it</p> <p>I suppose it leads back to what you were saying about needing to know in their home language how intelligent that child is or how capable that child is erm because the work we give them is differentiated but we're differentiating for – we're almost differentiating for their language skills, not their capability. In maths I think it's different because unless it's language based if it's number based I think the differentiation's probably more appropriate but with some of the other subjects I don't know we might not be challenging them (WY1)</p>	
Taking on responsibility	<p>Literature</p> <p>Getting the children to understand and to speak in any language is important, therefore some knowledge of first language is essential for an early years teacher (Conteh)</p> <p>You have to show sensitivity to each of their languages to be sure that you do not make assumptions (Conteh)</p> <p>We should be changing practice in the mainstream. By taking Turkish speaking kids out and having them in here you're just reinforcing that separateness (Strand)</p> <p>I was really interested to find out whether actually withdrawing students from the classes would be beneficial and what the students feel about it because it's been proved by many linguists that it should not be practiced in schools and that is what we do here (Strand)</p>	<p>Essential [for teachers]</p> <p>[teachers] have to, should</p> <p>Be sure [teachers] do not make assumptions</p> <p>[teacher is] interested</p>

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p>Group discussion</p> <p>encourage literacy development in another language. As I say we're so only developing this we've had the training haven't we and that's something that came out of the training (WM2)</p> <p>we've spoken to their parents to ask what their children's language development is like in their own language just to see if they are developing normally in their own language (WM2)</p> <p>I remember years ago and we had it was actually Marie's little sister when she started she didn't speak a word of English she spoke French she spoke Lingala and I remember at the time trying to find out was there any way was there anybody in the community whatever who you could use to help but it just kind of fizzled out - trying to get to help but it never really happened (WY2)</p>	<p>We are developing</p> <p>We've had training</p> <p>We've spoken with [bilingual pupils'] parents</p> <p>Trying to get help</p>

Theme 5: EAL specialist skills and knowledge as exclusive

Brief description: Reference to the different skills set and knowledge EAL specialists have from non-specialist practitioners

Full definition: classroom / subject teachers have different agenda to each other and work in separate arena (eg the English department vs the curriculum). A distinction is made between ‘the specialists’ and ‘ordinary teachers’, and EAL specialists carry particular responsibility for language and understanding the cultural background of bilingual children. The skills and knowledge of EAL specialists are spoken of in terms of inaccessible arts, something beyond the skill set of non-specialist practitioners

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Subject teacher-language teacher divide	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>Within this school it's seen very much as part of the English department - I mean this is very much an English department initiative (Barnard and Burgess)</p> <p>English staff felt [that] they had to justify their existence purely through English, and that language across the curriculum was somehow offering themselves as slaves to the curriculum (Barnard and Burgess)</p> <p>I think it's easy to think of yourself as a subject teacher but I think when you do focus on the language like that you can see that the concepts are more accessible to the children – so I think ideally I would like to see myself as a teacher of language (Barnard and Burgess)</p> <p>You're not just a History teacher any more or a Geography teacher, you're actually a teacher in the wider sense of the word (Barnard and Burgess)</p>	Part of the English department, slaves to the curriculum, subject teacher, teacher of language, teacher in the wider sense of the word, mystique, the specialists, ordinary teachers
The specialists	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>... because the specialists tend to come in and ‘do’ the children then go...It creates the feeling amongst ordinary teachers that somehow there are some secrets that they are not capable of taking on board... (Connors)</p> <p>But he does need the support not just for speaking but for the confidence and also the cultural background for his own, for the Chinese culture and background. I don't think he actually gets much of that (Smyth)</p>	the specialists, ordinary teachers, support for speaking, cultural background

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>vitally important to have access and provision of outside agencies to support EAL/bilingual children and keep regular contact with teachers (PGCE)</p>	outside agencies
Inaccessible arts	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>... because the specialists tend to come in and 'do' the children then go...It creates the feeling amongst ordinary teachers that somehow there are some secrets that they are not capable of taking on board... (Connors)</p> <p>parallels between EAL work and Special Needs only in as much as there's a mystique about it (Connors)</p>	secrets, a mystique
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>[Helping children learn their home language would just be] impossible (WM4)</p>	impossible

Theme 6: School focus on home languages as something difficult and onerous

Brief description: Reference to time or resources as constraining ability to support bilingual children

Full definition: Teachers do not have time or have difficulty finding time to support bilingual children, find out more about appropriate support/pedagogy. There are too many different languages for teachers/schools to provide support in and for those languages. The cost of providing appropriate bilingual support is prohibitive.

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Quantity of work	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>There is an enormous inertia in teaching because we've just had so much to deal with (Barnard and Burgess)</p>	so much , deal with
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>It is very difficult for a teacher to cater for more than one language alongside other responsibilities (PGCE)</p>	alongside other responsibilities
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>I think that it's for us generally putting too many things into place (WY2)</p>	putting too many things in place
Lack of time	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>We'll sometimes not have the time for those stage 3 kids (Strand)</p> <p>I could see certain ways in which it could be used, but I've then got to find the time to actually make a moment within the course to try it (Barnard and Burgess)</p> <p>There are only four of us. So it's not really a big department. But the need for the school is huge.</p> <p>Unfortunately we can't be in all places so we do as much as we can do (Strand)</p>	do not have time , find time,

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
Quantity of languages	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>the argument ignores the sheer number of mother-languages now in Britain. If the right to one mother-language in schools is granted, then that same right must clearly be given to all mother-languages (Honeyford)</p>	sheer number
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>The quantity of languages within the school makes it very difficult to cater for all (PGCE)</p>	quantity of languages
	<p><i>group discussion</i></p> <p>yeah because we are quite unique in that sense in the other sort of pockets in London I guess you have a real strong you know Somali community or Turkish community or Polish community we don't really get that so much here we've got a real sort of scattering of languages maybe you know five children per class and often they are different languages as well (L1)</p> <p>again going from my perspective there's a slight practical aspect because I think at last count I have eight or nine languages in my classroom (WY2)</p> <p>we've got so many different languages that it's impossible to cater for them all (WY2)</p>	scattering of languages [number] languages so many different languages
Focus on financial cost	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>The costs involved would, of course, be colossal, unacceptable to public opinion and almost certainly prohibitive (Honeyford)</p>	costs, colossal, prohibitive
	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>I think specialist teachers that can spend focused time with EAL children is the best strategy, although obviously there are financial constraints (PGCE)</p>	financial constraints

Subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
The challenge of new languages	<p><i>survey</i></p> <p>provision for EAL/bilingual students can be difficult for teachers who may not be comfortable or confident in speaking another language and therefore, finding/differentiating resources can be difficult - the changing face of society provides continual changes and challenges for educational professionals. Being bilingual myself, I do find it difficult working with children who speak languages which do not have the same alphabet or use the same loan words from other languages (PGCE)</p> <p>To include other languages within lesson planning would be very difficult, especially if teachers have no personal knowledge of the languages (PGCE)</p>	<p>Not comfortable, confident speaking another language</p> <p>No knowledge of the languages [children speak]</p> <p>Difficult [to work with/teach bilingual children]</p>

Theme 7: Home language use as subversive

Brief description: reference to home language use as subverting classroom activity and school life

Full definition: teachers suspect children of using home language to make negative comments, to deceive parents without teachers being able to understand. Home language use disrupts classroom activity.

	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p><i>literature</i></p> <p>There was some suspicion that, where the child had responsibility for translating, a few pupils were miscommunicating information in order appease their parents (Strand)</p> <p>Turkish and Kurdish pupils were viewed negatively for speaking in their mother tongue in lessons, while pupils explained that they were not being disruptive, but helping each other with their work (Strand)</p> <p>Teachers may allow children to talk in Bangla during a class activity, but tend to be concerned that such talk could go off-task, or that non-Bangla speaking children would feel excluded (Kenner)</p> <p>Teachers confirmed that they felt uneasy about bilingual children using their home language in school, they expressed concern that children might be making negative comments, and that children who did not know the home language might feel excluded if it was used (Kenner)</p>	<p>suspicion, miscommunicating, disruptive, off-task, feel excluded, make negative comments</p>
	<p><i>group discussions</i></p> <p>if they're talking in the home language about football and nobody else is, they're not paying any attention to what they should be they should be doing the task at hand then yes that's right and that needs to be addressed (WM2)</p>	<p>not paying attention needs to be addressed</p>

New theme arising from analysis of survey free text

Theme 8: Utility of home language learning / use

Brief description: reference to home language use as a means of supporting the teacher

Full definition: teachers speak of bilingual speakers fluent in English (TAs and pupils) as being useful as interpreters in helping them communicate with bilingual pupils/parents with weaker English skills. Translation in this theme is for purposes of improving communication between schools staff, bilingual pupils and parents, and not as a means for exploring or learning languages.

	Instances	Key words/phrases
Utility of home language in classroom / school	<p>survey</p> <p>One child is from Romania, and his English skills are being worked upon but it would be useful to have a Romanian speaker who could help explain instructions etc (PGCE)</p> <p>It's useful having teachers that speak the same language as the children - TAs who speak an additional [language] is useful as they can communicate effectively to parents/carers (PGCE)</p> <p>While I would encourage students to use English within class, if I had a TA or other children who spoke that native language, and the child was not confident in English I would encourage the child to use their native languages too, and ask the TA/child to translate. This would help me with finding out what the child knows (PGCE)</p> <p>I feel (funding) is very influential on the support EAL pupils receive or accessing the curriculum. Therefore I find good parent/school relationships essential in order to gain voluntary "interpreters". I also feel it important for pupils with EAL to be confident and encouraged to switch between languages, for example having an older pupil(s) translate for a teacher if a pupil with EAL is distressed. I am very supportive in promoting home languages! (PGCE)</p> <p>I ask children to use their home language in class with another child interpreting because if there is no-one to help me understand, the child will just be talking in their home language with no way to support them (L3)</p>	<p>useful</p> <p>help [the teacher to] communicate with (parents/carers)</p> <p>find out what child knows</p> <p>translate</p> <p>interpret</p>

	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p>discussion groups</p> <p>initially when they come in to school I think we need that don't we need that sort of erm the person like we've got monica in our class who's been in in school for nearly three years now, and she even translates for her grandmother. You know and she's she's a gem basically she's amazing to have in the classes. I'll say oh monica such and such has come into the classroom can you tell them this is what the rules are and this is how we do our reading diaries and learning our times tables (WM2)</p> <p>this is hard because I don't speak Polish so to use competent bilingual children to help translate (WY1)</p> <p>and then to try and put it into English and to be supported in putting it into English (WM1)</p>	<p>[use home language] to make sure [bilingual pupils] understand</p> <p>[formulate thoughts in HL first and then] put into English</p>
Utility of languages outside of school	<p>discussion groups</p> <p>French or Spanish are more widely spoken across the world aren't they than Punjabi or Polish, but at the same time do you speak what would be most useful in the community? Like if you're somebody that's going to be travelling the world then yes then maybe French or Spanish would be more useful but if you're going to live in Castletown but you really wouldn't get many people speaking Panjabi would you in Castletown would you might get more (WY2)</p> <p>... because a lot of people go on holiday to those particular two countries you know like France or Spain so that could help them as well just to communicate when they go on holiday (WY1)</p> <p>It's good for high school as well you see if they go up to key stage 3 (WY1)</p>	<p>more widely spoken</p> <p>(more/most) useful</p> <p>in the community</p> <p>across the world</p> <p>good for high school</p> <p>[helps with communication] on holiday</p>

New themes arising from analysis of survey free text

Theme 9: Well-being

Brief description: reference to the affective impact of practice on bilingual pupils

Full definition: teachers speak of bilingual pupils having low expectations of themselves or putting themselves down, they are concerned that bilingual children feel welcome, keeping their morale up, not feel upset or frustrated, and that they are treated fairly

	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p><i>discussion group</i></p> <p>thinking about a lot of them I feel that a lot of them would put themselves down (L1)</p> <p>if they have lower expectations of themselves and maybe they're not . or we're not not pushing them enough (L1)</p> <p>cause quite often we don't really know the basics in language and if we don't the children aren't going to are they so I just thought it would make them feel welcome because we have got things around where they're from around the school and it would be nice to maybe move to the next step and have some language (WM2)</p> <p>how do you think they're going to feel then they're going to feel really upset so if we ... I think their morale is going to go down because they're going to be so upset (WY1)</p> <p>on the whole I think it's better for them to be able to speak English I don't think it's fair to say it's rude to tell them not to speak (WY1)</p> <p>I do think it's so unfair if they sit and they can't contribute to the lesson (WY1)</p> <p>I think it's frustrating for them as well if they know, quite often they will know what they want to say but because they haven't got the English language they can't actually put that into English so as jenny says it's quite nice for them to be able to say it to their friend (WY1)</p>	<p>[bilingual children would] put themselves down / have lower expectations</p> <p>(make bilingual children) feel welcome</p> <p>feel upset</p> <p>morale (is going to go down)</p> <p>[it's not] fair / unfair</p> <p>frustrating</p> <p>nice, lovely</p> <p>you don't want to force</p> <p>comfortable</p>

	Instances	Key words/phrases
	<p><i>discussion group (continued)</i></p> <p>then it's their morale as well you know if I was in their country and somebody told me don't ever speak your home language I'd be really upset (WY1)</p> <p>it would be lovely, you know, imagine what the children would actually get out of that (WY1)</p> <p>I remember you last year when you did just sort of incidental learning, asking which languages they were using ... it was nice for the children to hear (L1)</p> <p>you don't want to force children if they don't want to read in their own language (L1)</p> <p>I suppose it would be nice to see who would feel comfortable [reading in their home language] (L1)</p>	

Theme 10: Surface level use / learning of home language

Brief description: reference to practice which encourages the use and learning of items of home languages, but not in depth or any sustained way

Full definition: teachers speak of practice where home languages are celebrated, basic or common words, or greetings are taught and used in the classroom, or other activities which require limited use of language, such as answering the register

subtheme	Instances	Key words/phrases
celebration	<p>discussion group</p> <p>finding out who does read at home in English and in their own language so that we know and then if they do then just encourage that and for them to record that evidence for us and sort of celebrate it (L1)</p> <p>maybe we're not pushing them enough – or celebra... sort of helping them (L1)</p>	celebrate
using home language phrases	<p>discussion group</p> <p>I think it's nice for the children to be able to share some of the home language I know in some classes children answer the register in their home language (WM2)</p> <p>They could learn some basic words or something welcoming words or something like that (WY2)</p> <p>I think most people have common phrases or words or greetings and I know I had an influx of Polish children last year in year 5 and because we did it and we talked about it they were really trying and I gave them an opportunity sort of when new children joined the class to greet each other but that was if I'm honest as far as it got (WY1)</p>	<p>answer the register</p> <p>(they could learn) basic words / welcoming words</p> <p>common words / phrases</p> <p>greetings</p>